





PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JANUARY
TO
DECEMBER, 1899.

VOL. XXI. TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1899.

HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE LONDON.

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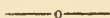
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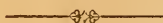
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VOL. XXI. TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

First Meeting, January 10th, 1899.

[ANNIVERSARY.]



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1899.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY,

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TRANSACTIONS.																			
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Vol.	I,	Part	1	...	10	6	...	12	6	Vol.	VI,	Part	1	...	10	6	...	12	6
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"	XIV,	Part 8,	1891-92	...	5	0	"	"	6	0	
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"	XV,	Part 8,	1892-93	...	5	0	"	"	6	0	
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A few complete sets of the Transactions and Proceedings still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS
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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION, 1899.

VOLUME XXI.

First Meeting, 10th January, 1899.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

DR. J. HALL GLADSTONE, F.R.S., MEMBER OF COUNCIL,
IN THE CHAIR.



The CHAIRMAN announced with regret the loss suffered by the Society by the death of one of its earliest Members, PROF. THOMAS HAYTER LEWIS, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., etc., etc., etc. Born in 1818 : died 10th December, 1898.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From R. A. Rye, Esq. :—*Histoire du Peuple d'Israël* par Ernest Renan. Deuxième édition. 5 volumes. 8vo. Paris. 1887-93.

From J. Legge, Esq. :—*Handbooks on the History of Religions. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.* By Morris Jastrow, jun., Ph.D. 8vo. Boston. 1898.

——— *Syria and Egypt, from the Tel el-Amarna tablets.* By W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., &c. 8vo. London, 1898.

From the Author :—Stanley A. Cook, Esq., B.A., etc. *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions.* Cambridge University Press. 8vo. 1898.

From the Author :—Rev. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D. *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours.* 8vo. London. 1898.

From the Author :—Jean Capart. *Notes sur les origines de l'Égypte d'après les fouilles récentes.* *Rev. de l'Univ. de Bruxelles.* Tome IV. 1898-99.

From the Author :—Rev. P. A. C. de Cara, S.J. *Gli Hetheipelasgi in Italia o gl' Itali della storia.* *Messapi-Japigi.* *Civilt. Catt.* Dec., 1898.

From the Author :—*A Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the possession of F. G. Hilton Price, Dir. S.A.* 4to. London. 1897.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 7th February, 1899 :—

John Ward, F.S.A., Lenoxvale, Belfast.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting held on the 1st November, 1898 :—

Henry Beard, 86, FitzJohn's Avenue, N.W.

Hope Waddell Hogg, M.A., M.R.A.S., 4, Winchester Road, Oxford.

Rev. W. O. Oesterley, 39, Victoria Street, S.W.

Rev. Robertus F. Olsen, Hjörundfjord, Norway.

The Secretary's Report, and the audited Statement of Receipts and Expenditure to the 31st of December, 1898, were received, and ordered to be printed.

A Paper by the President, entitled, "The New Babylonian Tablet," was read by the Secretary.

Remarks were added by Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Stanley A. Cooke, and the Chairman.

N.B.—The two Plates of a Tablet from the Library of Nineveh, illustrating the President's Paper printed in *Proceedings*, November, 1898, page 258, are issued with the present Part.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1898.

In submitting to you my twentieth annual report, reference must be again made to the severe losses the Society has suffered by the death of some of its most distinguished members ; it has been a sad duty to announce these losses from time to time ; and even during the past month, as noticed this evening, an old and valued friend has gone from among us, one whose learning was universally appreciated, and one of our earliest members, whose interest in our Society never ceased.

The number on the roll of Members has, however, been fairly maintained, and it is a pleasure to thank those friends who have so kindly obtained the names of new Members ; there is still, however, much more that might be done, if a determined effort was made in this direction. There must be many who would be willing, if only they were asked, to help us to place a greater quantity of material, of a more varied character, in the hands of scholars and students, and at the same time gain the opportunity of reading it themselves. I have many times appealed to the whole body of Members to assist the Society in this manner ; I again repeat the appeal, in the hope that it may not be overlooked.

The Twenty-eighth Session commenced in November, 1897, but the present volume, like its immediate predecessors, includes the *Proceedings* from January to December, 1898.

The papers read before the Society, and printed in this volume, will be found not inferior in value and interest to those of former years, and the best thanks of the Society are due to the many writers who have thus contributed to the success of our meetings and publications.

In the last report I mentioned that some papers dealing with subjects more nearly connected with the Bible had been promised, several of these have appeared in the *Proceedings* during the past year, and it is hoped that Members and others having suitable information in their possession will not fail to submit it to the Council.

The scheme of widening the operations of the Society is still under consideration, but it is only by the assistance of the Members that it can be fully carried out. It should be remembered that it is not always necessary to write a paper, and that any notes occurring during the study

of a subject, could find a fitting place in the *Proceedings*, which are of course open to the Members. I need hardly point out that such notes would be a useful addition to our publications, and be of interest and service to the Members.

The various papers and notes, many of them illustrated, printed in the volume just completed, are as follows, classed as usual under their divisions :—

PROF. DR. JULES OPPERT :

Noli me tangere ; a mathematical demonstration of the exactness of Biblical Chronology (January).

JOHN E. GILMORE :

An account of some fragments of the Sahidic version of the Pauline Epistles and St. John's Gospel, obtained by him in Egypt (January).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Has collected the Roman Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War (February and May).

HORMUZD RASSAM :

Abraham and the land of his nativity (February).

ADMIRAL J. H. SELWYN :

A note on Biblical Chronology (March).

DR. PAUL RUBEN :

An Oracle of Nahum (May).

PROF. J. LIEBLEIN :

Mots Égyptiens dans la Bible (May) ; and again, L'Exode des Hébreux (November), which will be continued in future parts of the *Proceedings*.

REV. DR. HORNER :

Biblical Chronology (June).

E. J. PILCHER :

Herodian Pottery and the Siloam Inscription (June).

PROF. J. LIEBLEIN :

Asks the question, Thotmès III, était-il fils de Thotmès I? (February).

PROF. SAYCE (*President*) :

The beginnings of the Egyptian monarchy (February).

PROF. DR. WIEDEMANN :

Observations on the Nagadah period (March).

PROF. G. MASPERO :

Continued his notes au jour le jour, V (March), of which it is hoped other parts will be published during the present session.

WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A. :

Described a bronze uræus of unusual form (March) ; the ushabti box of Nes-pa-chred, a Priest of Mentu (May) ; also an ancient Egyptian toilet box, to which was added an analysis of its contents by W. GOWLAND, F.C.S., F.S.A. (November).

PROF. DR. KARL PIEHL :

Contributions au Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique (May and December) ;

also a note on the goddess   and on the sign  (June).

To these must be added the Coptic notes :

W. E. CRUM :

On the Coptic Spell, referring to a former note printed in the *Proceedings*, Vol. XIX, pp. 183, 302 (February) ; also a Coptic letter of Orders (November).

F. LEGGE :

Added some notes on the Coptic Spell given in Vol. XIX, pp. 183, 302 (March).

Under the title, A Dictionary of the Egyptian Language, an Appeal to custodians and owners of Inscriptions and Papyri, appeared the translation of a circular, to which I may again well call special attention. The circular explains very clearly the objects of the work, the cost of which has been provided by the German Emperor (March).

REV. C. J. BALL :

Babylonian Hieroglyphs (January).

HORMUZD RASSAM :

Door lintel discovered by Mr. George Smith at Kouyunjik, referring to a note by M. Boissier which appeared in the *Proceedings* for June, 1897 (January).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Two texts referred to in his report of the Oriental Congress, being the story of the Deluge, from a tablet discovered at Sippara, and the stela of Menepthah mentioning the Israelites (January), and again (March) on the letter of Hammurabi to Siniddina king of Larsa.

S. ARTHUR STRONG :

A Hymn to Nebuchadnezzar (March).

ALFRED BOISSIER :

Notes d'Assyriologie (March).

PROFESSOR SAYCE (*President*) :

The Kuthæan Legend of the Creation (May) ; and Assyriological Notes (November).

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :

Note on some tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, in the British Museum (June).

Some of the new "Hittite" antiquities have been brought to the notice of the Society—

K. J. BASMADJIAN :

Gave an account of two silver seals bearing inscriptions (June)

and in the November part, I called attention to an inscription and a small gold figure, at the same time making some remarks on the inscribed stones from Hamath. In the same part of the *Proceedings*, the Presi-

dent in his paper entitled Assyriological Notes, No IV, refers to inscriptions of this class.

As stated in the last report, Lady Renouf very kindly placed at the disposal of the Society all the notes left by our late lamented President, Sir Peter Renouf, in order to assist as far as possible in the completion of his translation of the Book of the Dead. I am happy to say that the completion of the work has been most kindly undertaken by one of our Honorary Members, M. Naville, whose monumental work of the text of the Book of the Dead is so universally valued.

Six Parts of the Large Paper Edition have been issued to the subscribers, two more being required to complete the work; it is hoped that before many months have gone by the remaining chapters will begin to appear in print.

During the past year another separate publication of interest has been issued by the Society, in a limited edition, which will be found noticed on the cover of the *Proceedings*, the Palestinian Syriac Version of the Holy Scriptures, being four recently discovered portions (together with verses from the Psalms and the Gospel of St. Luke). Edited by the REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH. It contains a photographic facsimile from this unique MS. in the British Museum, with a Transcription, Translation, Vocabulary and Notes.

It will be remembered that on the completion of the tenth volume of the *Proceedings*, an alphabetical table of contents was issued by the Society. The end of the twentieth volume having been reached, it became desirable that an index of Volumes XI to XX should be made on more extended lines than that of the early volumes. The labour of making this index has been very kindly undertaken by Mr. Walter L. Nash, F.S.A., who has also seen the whole of it through the press. It will appear about the same time as the January part of the *Proceedings*, and I am sure that I shall be expressing the feelings of the whole of the Members in offering to Mr. Nash our best thanks for having presented his labours to the Society.

Several notices of its publication have been issued, and a number of names of subscribers have been received; it is, however, to be hoped that other names will be sent in, in order that as far as possible the whole cost of printing the Index may be forthcoming, without any call on the ordinary funds of the Society.

The number of kindred Societies with which publications are exchanged has been increased. Many donations of books have also been made by various authors, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due for thus placing their works within the reach of many to whom they may be of real service, and others have been purchased by the Council, but it is to be regretted that the funds at their disposal for this purpose are not sufficient to make this department of the Library as complete as could be wished.

A list of many works especially wanted for the use of the Members has been printed many times at the end of the *Proceedings*. This list is necessarily altered from time to time, owing to the kind responses made by the presentation of some of the Books required. It is sincerely to be hoped, for the benefit of those students who use our Library, that the Members who have duplicate copies of those works entered in the list, or others connected with the objects of the Society, will present them, and thus give to students the opportunity and benefit of using them.

The cost of printing the publications is necessarily very great, and it surely ought to be unnecessary for me to point out year after year, that, in order that the work may be properly carried out, liberal contributions are to be desired from the Members.

Much inconvenience, and correspondence which should be unnecessary, has been caused by some Members not paying their subscriptions regularly. I must call attention to the notices issued in the *Proceedings* at the end of each year, one of which points out *that the subscriptions are due in advance in January*. I need hardly point out that if subscriptions are not paid regularly, difficulty and trouble occurs as to the amount of money at the disposal of the Council.

The audited Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1898 shows that the funds available for that year have been £684 16s. 9d., and the expenditure for the same period has been £617 9s. 4d. The balance carried forward from 1897 was £103 13s. 6d., and that from the year just ended is £67 7s. 5d.



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THE NEW BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGICAL TABLET.

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

Among the Babylonian tablets recently acquired by the British Museum is one which has been published in the new volumes of Cuneiform Inscriptions issued by the Trustees of the Museum. It bears the press-mark Bu. 91-3-9, 284, and throws fresh and important light on the chronology of early Babylonia. Babylonian chronology was reckoned by the chief event in each year of a king's reign, the year being thus called after the event which was officially considered to characterize it. In a commercial community like that of the Babylonians, accurate dating was a matter of vital importance; the validity of contracts and other legal documents often depended on it, and an endeavour was therefore made at an early period to discover a way in which their dates could be ascertained with the least possible amount of difficulty. The event which characterized a year was accordingly the equivalent of its date. Among these dates were necessarily the accession and death of a king. Lists were consequently drawn up and kept which gave the successive years of a king's reign with the events attached to them as well as those of a particular dynasty or of a succession of dynasties. These lists constituted a series of chronological annals which placed Babylonian chronology on a firm and accurate footing, and enabled the later historian who had access to them to determine the date of any given event in the past history of the country. Dynastic summaries, moreover, were compiled on the basis of them, in which the length of each dynasty was recorded along with that of the several reigns which composed it. One of these summaries was brought to light many years ago by Mr. Pinches, and is generally known as the Dynastic Tablet. Unfortunately its mutilated condition has made its interpretation a matter of considerable difficulty, and has given rise to a variety of rival chronological systems. But it has hitherto been assumed that the dates found in it were to be trusted.

The newly-discovered tablet, however, throws doubt on its accuracy. The tablet contains one of the lists of dates or chronological annals out of which the Dynastic Tablet was compiled. It was written, as we learn from the colophon, in the reign of Ammizadok, the great-grandson of Samsi-iluna, with whose death it ends, and it furnishes us with a complete chronological register of the earlier reigns of the first dynasty of Babylon to which these two kings belonged. The years are enumerated one by one with the events which characterized each, and at the end of each king's reign comes a summation of the number of years it lasted. The chronology therefore seems to be exact, and it is consequently curious that it disagrees very materially with the chronology of the same period as given in the Dynastic Tablet.

The following is a translation of the text, so far as it is intelligible to me. It is written for the most part in Sumerian, and a considerable portion of the tablet has unfortunately been destroyed:—

Obverse, Col. I. Lines 1 and 2 are destroyed.

3. The year when the fortress of . . . bitim [was built].
4. The year when the temple of the goddess Nin-Šinna* was [built].
5. The year when the chief temple of the Moon-god was built.
6. The year following that in which the chief temple of the Moon-god was built.
7. The third year† after the building of the chief temple of the Moon-god.
8. The year when the great palm-stems were worked for the temple of the Moon-god.
9. The year when the fortress of Dilbat (the modern Delem) was built.
10. The year when the crown of the god Yahu (?)‡ of Kis was made.

* Nin-ši-anna, the planet Venus.

† In modern English idiom, "the second year;" the Babylonians, however, reckoned it as the third.

‡ *Yahu* is given as the equivalent of the ideograph NI in S^a, I, 18, of which *i/i* "god" is another value (S^a I, 20). I have hitherto supposed it to be a gloss added at the time when the name of the Hebrew God became known to the Assyrians, but since my discovery of the name of Yahum-ilu (or Joel), "Yahu is god," in a letter of the age of Khammurabi, it is possible to suppose that it goes back to an early date, and that Yahu was already worshipped by the "Amorites" in Babylonia before the time of Abraham.

11. The year following that when the crown of the god Yahu (?) of Kis was made.
12. The year when the garden* of the gods was made.
13. The year when the country of Kazallu was conquered.
14. The year following that when Kazallu was conquered.

The 14 years of Šu(mu)-abu † the king.

-
1. The year when Šumu-la-ilu became king and the canal Samas-khegallu was dug.
 2. The year following that when the canal Samas-khegallu was dug.
 3. The year when the Khalibû ‡ was slain with the sword.
 4. The year following that when the Khalibû was slain [with the sword].
 5. The year when the great fortress of Babylon was built.
 6. The year following that when the great fortress [of Babylon] was built.
 7. The year when the temple of Rimmon . . . was built.
 8. The year following that when the temple of [Rimmon was built].
 9. The third year after [the building of the temple of Rimmon].
 10. The year when Asdumma
 11. The year when Šumu-[la-ilu]
 12. The year when the canal of Šumu-la-ilu [was dug].
 13. The year when Kis [was conquered].
 14. The year following that of [the conquest of] Kis.
 15. The third year after the conquest of Kis.
 16. The fourth year after the conquest of Kis.
 17. The fifth year after the conquest of Kis.
 18. The year when Yakhzir-ilu § fled from Kazallu.
 19. The year when the fortress of the god Yahu (?) at Kis was destroyed.

* GIS-KHIR is translated by the Semitic *kirû* "garden" and *pîrsu* "paradise" (W.A.I., II, 38, 13), and signifies the enclosure or sacred domain attached to a temple which corresponded with the Greek *τέμενος*.

† The omission of *mu* in writing the royal name may imply that it was pronounced Suwu, contracted into Šû.

‡ "The native of Khalib" or Aleppo. The second character is *li*, not *lam*.

§ A West-Semitic and non-Babylonian name, Hebrew יְעִזְרֵאל. Comp. Azriel.

20. The year when the fortress of Kazallu was destroyed and its troops slain with the sword.
21. The year following that when the fortress of Kazallu was destroyed and its troops slain with the sword.
22. The year when the throne of the chief mercy-seat was completed with gold and silver and constructed for the god Merodach.
23. The year following that when the throne of the chief mercy-seat was completed with gold and silver and constructed for the god Merodach.
24. The year when the image of the goddess Zarpanit was made.
25. The year when Yakhzir-ilu was slain with the sword.
26. The year when the image[s] of Istar and Nanâ were made.
27. [The year when] . . . Cutha, and the shrine * *dibba* (?) was made.
28. [The year when *Šuma-]la-ilu* entered Borsippa.
29. [The year when the fortress of] Sippara was built.
30. [The year when the fortress called?] Ursanu was built.
31. [The year when the fortress] of Opis was built.
32. [The year when at . . .] the temple was ruined and the canal of *Šumu-la-ilu* was dug.
33. [The year following that when the temple] fell and the canal of *Šumu-la-ilu* was dug.
34. [The year when . . .] was slain [with the sword].
35. [The year when the king] entered . . .
36. [The year following that when the king] entered . . .
[The 36 years of the reign of *Šumu-la-ilu*.]

Col. II. The first 7 lines are destroyed.

8. The year when the temple [was built].
9. The year when the temple of *Igas* [was built].
10. The year when the temple of *Ristum* [was built].
11. The year when the image of *Zabum* [the king was made].
12. The year when the fortress called *Šikur-pî* † [was built].

* AN-ZA-QAR, the Assyrian *annan[tu]* "a shrine," or "place of prayer" (W.A.I., II, 54, 11). Early Babylonian contracts call one of the gates of Sippara "the gate of the shrine," and couple the word with *kizlakh* "a high place," the AN-ZA-QAR and *kizlakh* being conjointly described as constituting a *parakku* or "mercy-seat."

† "The closing of the mouth." But the second ideograph in the name is broken and may be *nir* instead of *khil*.

13. The year when the basin of the sea swarmed [with fish] . . .
14. The year following that when the basin [of the sea swarmed with fish] . . .

The 14 years [of the reign of Zabum] the king.

1. The year when [Abil-] Sin became king and built the fortress of Borsippa.
2. [The year when] the gate of Babylon called . . . was built.
3. [The year when the throne of the] chief mercy-seat was completed with gold and silver and constructed for Samas and Merodach.
4. [The year when the canal . . .] was dug.
5. [The year when the . . .] of Anunit (?) appeared.
6. [The year when . . .] was renewed.
7. [The year following that when . . .] was renewed.
8. [The year when the canal . . .] was dug.
9. [The year when the . . .] was made for the priest of the Sun-god.
10. [The year when the throne of the mercy-seat] was completed with [gold and silver] and constructed [for the Sun-god ?].
11. The year when the . . . was built.
12. The year when at Sippara *kabirum*.
13. The year when
14. The year when
15. The year when
16. The year when the was built to the east of . . .
17. The year when the throne of the chief [mercy-seat] was made for Samas of Babylon.
18. The year following that when the throne of the chief mercy-seat was made for Samas of Babylon.

The 18 years (of the reign) of Abil-Sin the king.

1. The year when Sin-mubalidh became king and built the fortress of Libba (?)tum.
2. The year when the canal of Sin-mubalidh was dug.
3. The year when the statues (?) of the gods Samas and Sunirda were constructed of two kinds of stone.
4. The year following that when [the statues] of Samas and Sunirda (were made) of two kinds of stone.

5. The year when the crown (?) of the god Igi-kukki was made.
6. The year following that when the crown (?) of Igi-kukki was made.
7. The year when the fortress of Anzaqar-dada was built.
8. The year when the canal Â-khegallu was dug.
9. The year following that when the canal Â-khegallu was dug.
10. The year when the fortress of Sin-mubalidh was built.
11. The year when the fortress of the city of Muru was built.
12. The year when the fortress of the city of Marad was built.
13. The year when the canal Tutu-khegallu was dug.
14. The year when the troops of Ur were [slain] with the sword.
15. The year when the fortress of the city of Eres was [built].
16. The year when the throne of the chief mercy-seat of . . .
[was made].
17. The year when the city of Isin
18. The year when the fortress of [was built].
19. The year when
20. The year when the city of Dilbat (?)
The 20 [years of the reign of Sin-mubalidh].

-
- Reverse, Col. III.* 1. The year when Khammur[abi became king].
2. The year when the word
 3. The year when the throne of Merodach [was made].
 4. The year when the fortress of Mâlga [was built].
 5. The year when the lawgiver
 6. The year when the fortress of the god . . . [was built].
 7. The year when Isin
 8. The year when the . . . of the canal of Dilbat
 9. The year when the canal of Khammurabi [was dug].
 10. The year when the windows (?) of Bit-Algi [were constructed?].
 11. The year of the . . . at Kis.
 12. The year when the throne of [Zar]panit (was made).
 13. The year when . . . greatly.
 14. The year when the throne [of Merodach?] at Babylon (was made).
 15. The year when the image . . . of stone (?).
 16. The year when the throne
 17. The year when the image of the god of the . . of heaven and earth was made

18. The year when the Moon-god
19. [The year] . . *akh asaridu* (?).
20. [The year when the god] Rimmon flooded (the land).
21. [The year of Bor]sippa.
22. [The year of the canal (?) of Kham]murabi.
23. [The year when]
24. [The year when]
25. [The year when]
26. [The year when]
27. [The year when]
28. [The year when]
29. [The year of An]sar (?) the god of* . . .
30. The year when the army of Elam . . .
31. The year when the land of Emud[balum] . .
32. The year when the army of the land [of Emudbalum] . . .
33. The year when the canal of Khammurabi [was dug?].
34. The year when the gods
35. The year when the fortress
36. The year
37. The year
38. The year of the great [inundation?].

4 lines destroyed.

43. [The year when] the old town.
[The 4] 3 years of the [reign] of Khammura[bi].

1. [The year when Šamšu-]iluna became king.
2. The year of abundant crops (?) in Sumer and Akkad.

5 lines destroyed.

Col. IV. The first 3 lines are destroyed.

11. [The year when] . . . Kis.
12. [The year when] the city
13. [The year when] he filled
14. [The year when] . . . and an ally was united with him.
15. [The year when]
16. [The year when] . . . the city of Eres was destroyed.
17. [The year when] the god . . .

* Or "the goddess Sala.

18. [The year] of the great oracle (?).
19. The year when Bit-Urri, (the temple) of the Sun-god at Sippara, (was repaired).
20. The year when the throne of the Deep was made the second time.
21. The year when the country was unfortunate [and there was] fire (?).
22. The year when the throne [was made] of *nimmu* wood.
23. The year when the temple-tower of Kidur-makh (at Kis) (was built).
24. The year when the forces
25. The year when
26. The year when
27. The year when

2 lines destroyed.

30. The year following that when the forces
31. The third year after that when the forces
32. The year when his (*i.e.*, the king's) image [was made] of *nimmu* wood.
33. The year when the canal Qar [was dug].
34. The year when the city of justice* (was built), the palace of sovereignty.
35. The year of the cities of Abal and Pan-rubi-sum (?).
36. The year of the troops of the Amorites.
37. The year of the revolt of Ararat (?). †
38. The year when

The 38 years of the reign of Šamsu-iluna.

COLOPHON.—The 2nd day of the month Iyyar, the year when Ammi-zadok the king

* *Isarratum*.

† KI-BUR-*ā*. KI-BUR seems to be a formation like Ki-mas, "the land of Mas" or northern Arabia, or Ki-sarra, "the land of hordes," or northeastern Arabia, and to signify "the land of mountains." It will consequently be equivalent to BUR-BUR-KI, which denoted not only Akkad but also Ararat. In W.A.I., II, 48, 13, BUR-BUR-KI is coupled with *Amurru* as KI-BUR is here, and is explained as "Urdhu" or Armenia, its name in Sumerian being Tilla. Here, therefore, I read *Amurrā* and *Urdhā*. Urdhas is found in the Vannic texts (SAYCE, LXXXII, 6).

Between these chronological tables and the Dynastic Tablet there are, as has already been remarked, very serious discrepancies. Sumu-abu is said in them to have reigned 14 instead of 15 years, Sumu-la-ilu 36 instead of 35 years, Sin-muballidh 20 instead of 30 years, Khammurabi 43 instead of 55 years, and Samsu-iluna 38 instead of 35 years. In the first two cases the discrepancy may depend merely on a difference in the mode of dating the accession of Sumu-la-ilu, but the divergencies in the last three are difficult to explain. That the chronological tables are correct admits of no dispute; they were drawn up while the dynasty of Sumu-abu was still on the throne, and register the events of each year of a king's reign. Moreover, as I pointed out several years ago, the round numbers in the Dynastic Tablet, which repeat themselves from time to time, are more than suspicious.

It is possible, however, that the discrepancies may be due to the fact that the compiler of the Dynastic Tablet included in the reigns of those whom he regarded as legitimate kings, the reigns of rival princes whom he regarded as illegitimate. We know that he did so in the case of the Kassite dynasty, where the seven years' reign of the Assyrian conqueror Tiglath-Ber is ignored. We know also from the contract tablets that under Sumu-la-ilu, Sin-muballidh, and Khammurabi rival sovereigns held sway in Babylonia. Pungun-ila, the son of Liliun, is mentioned along with Sumu-la-ilu (or Samu-la-ilu, "Is not Shem a god?"), Immerum is referred to as reigning shortly afterwards, and the Elamite conquerors Eri-Aku and Rim-Anum (who may be the same personage) governed southern Babylonia in the time of Sin-muballidh and his successor. Eri-Aku, indeed, held rule there for about 30 years, which would fully account for the additional 22 years assigned to Sin-muballidh and Khammurabi in the Dynastic Tablet. We should then have to ascertain whether these 22 years have been omitted in the chronological tables, no contracts with the names of Sin-muballidh and Khammurabi having been dated in them, or whether they merely represent a series of dates relating to Eri-Aku, and really contemporaneous with the dates to which the names of Sin-muballidh and Khammurabi were attached, but erroneously supposed by the compiler of the Dynastic Tablet to be additional to the latter.

The compiler calls the dynasty that of Babylon. The chronological tables, however, seem to show that Babylon was not made the capital of the kingdom, or perhaps even captured, until the reign of

the second king of the dynasty. The dynasty probably followed that of Ur, and represented a conquest of the older native princes by invaders from Arabia. At all events the reign of its founder was characterised by the erection of "the chief temple of the Moon-god," the patron deity of Ur, while "the fortress of Babylon" was not built until the 5th year of the reign of Sumu-la-ilu. It was not until the 13th year of his reign that the neighbouring city of Kis was taken and the way opened to the north. Accordingly we hear of the fortress of Sippara being built in the king's 29th year, and that of Opis, still further to the north, in his 31st. Kis appears to have been dependent on the non-Babylonian kingdom of Kazallu, the revolt of which, under its king Kastubila, had been crushed by Sargon of Akkad centuries before. I should place Kazallu on the west bank of the Euphrates, north of Babylon, in the direction of Hit.

We possess chronological tables of the reigns of two of the kings who belonged to the second (or third) dynasty of Ur, which was superseded by that of Sumu-abu. The first of these kings, as has been shown by M. Thureau-Dangin, is Dungi II, and the tablet which gives the dates of his reign has been published by Dr. Hilprecht (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, No. 125). The following is my translation of it :—

1. [The year when Dungi became king].
2. The year when the priest of Bit
3. The year when the king of Ur
4. The year when Bel repelled the enemy.
5. The year when the Moon-god of Kar*-Zida (Karu-Kênu) entered his temple.
6. The year when the king built Ê-Kisag (Bit-Asri).
7. The year when the god Guša of the great fortress of heaven and earth entered his temple.
8. The year when the god Nu-ku-kul-da of Kazallu entered his temple.
9. The year when the king built the temple of his god.
10. The year when Sin the lord of Ê-ki (Bit-Irtsiti) entered his temple.
11. The year when the priest of Ser-zi-anna, the priest of Sin, commemorated the first-fruits.

* So on the "bulla" published by M. Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes cunéiformes inédites*, No. 83.

12. The year when the couch of the god . . . [was made].
13. The year when the priest of Ser-zi-anna, the priest of Sin, prophesied.
14. The year when Nigir(?)midasu the daughter of the king became mistress of Markhasi [the modern Mer'ash].
15. The year when the palm-tree (?) was restored to its place.
16. The year when the people of Ur imprisoned the captives.
17. The year when Nin-ip (Bêr), the great high-priest of Ellil (Bel), was (in his) temple.
18. The year when El-lil and Nin-lil (were in their) temple.
19. [The year when ?]*
20. The year following that when
21. The year when the king (?)
22. The year when the country of Gan-mur was conquered.
23. The year when the land of Šimurum† was conquered.
24. The year when Šimurum was conquered for the second time.
25. The year when the land of Mu(?)khusi was conquered.
26. The year when the priest of Eridu gave the oracle.
27. The year following that when the priest of Eridu gave the oracle.
28. The year when the daughter of the king married the high-priest of Ansan.†
29. The year when Gan-mur was conquered for the second time.
30. The year when Šimurum was conquered for the third time.
31. The year following that of the third conquest of Šimurum.
32. The year when Ansan was conquered.
33. The year following that when Ansan was conquered.
34. The year when Sin of Kar-zida entered his temple for the second time.
35. The year when Dur-mada ("the Fortress of the Country") was built.

* Perhaps this line is a continuation of the preceding one and not the record of a separate year.

† Prof. Hommel has identified Šimurum with the Phœnician Zemar, the Tsumurra of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, but it must be remembered that in W.A.I., V, 12, 44, "the land of Šimurra" is said to be the same as Zaban on the Lower Zab.

‡ It is also possible to translate, with Dr. Scheil, "when the daughter of the king became high-priestess of Ansan."

36. The year following that when Dur-mada was built.
37. The year when the temple at the edge of the mound of Dagon was built.
38. The year following that when the temple at the edge of the mound of Dagon was built.
39. The third year after that when the temple at the edge of the mound of Dagon was built.
40. The year when the land of Sasru* was conquered.
41. The year when

The rest of the tablet is destroyed.

The second tablet contains a chronological record of the reign of Pur-Sin II, and is as follows (Hilprecht: *The Babylonian Expedition*, No. 127):—

Obverse.—1. The year when Pur-Sin became king.

2. The year when Pur-Sin the king conquered the land of Urbillum.†
3. The year when the chief throne of Sin was made.
4. The year when the chief priest of Anu gave the oracle.
5. The year when the priest of the shrine of Istar gave the oracle.
6. The year when Sasru was conquered.
7. The year when the land of Ribannukhu was conquered.
8. The year when the priest of Eridu gave the oracle.
9. The year when Sin

Here the tablet is broken. On the *Reverse* we read:—

[The year when] the priest

[The year when] the foundation

The year when the great tower of El-lil was built (at Nippur).

The year when the deified Gimil-Sin became king in Ur, and conquered the mountain of Zabsali (in the Lebanon).

The system of reckoning time by the chief event of each year, among which the accession and death of a king were included, must go back to a remote period in Babylonian history. The fact that the record continued to be kept in Sumerian under the rule of

* Or Sassub.

† Perhaps Arbela, which a punning etymology in the Assyrian age transformed into Arba-ilu “the four god(s).”

Semitic sovereigns implies that it was of Sumerian origin. We find it already in use in the age of Sargon of Akkad. M. Thureau-Dangin, for example, has published texts of Sargon and Naram-Sin (in his *Tablettes cunéiformes inédites*) which are dated in this way. Thus in one (No. 13) we have: "In the year when Sargani the king of the city built the temples of Girsu and Aê (?) in Babylon and Sarlak king of Kutim (Kurdistan) submitted," and in another (No. 14): "In the year when Sargani king of the city [built] the platform (?)* of the temple of Bel [at] Nippur." In others, again, we read: "The year when the campaign was made against Gutium (Kurdistan) for its . . ." (No. 15): "In the year when Sargani king of the city (made) a campaign against . . . and Zakhara, in the neighbourhood of Opis, and set up the boundary-stone" (SAG-GUB) (No. 16); "In the year when Sargani the king of the city (invaded) the Amorite land" (*Amurram*) (No. 17); "In the year when the deified Naram-Sin built the platform (?) of the temple of Bel at Nippur and of the temple of Asherah in the city of Asherah . . ."† (No. 19).

CONTRACT FROM THE COUNTRY OF KHANA.

A very interesting contract has been published by M. Thureau-Dangin in his *Tablettes cunéiformes inédites*, pl. XXXII., the original of which is now in the Louvre. It is in the Babylonian script and language, but was drawn up in the country of Khana on the eastern side of the Babylonian frontier. That the Babylonian language was employed in Khana, we already knew from the monument of one of its kings, Tukulti-Mer, which was dedicated to the Sun-god of Sippara,

* *Us-sig*, see No. 19, where it is said that the same work was continued by Naram-Sin. As Mr. Haines's excavations have shown that it was the great brick pavement of the temple which was constructed by Sargon and Naram-Sin, *ussig* must signify "a pavement" or "platform." The word is probably of Sumerian origin, and is certainly not the first person of a Semitic verb, as Meissner conjectures in his *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, p. 19.

† According to M. Thureau-Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, IV, 2), who provisionally reads the name "Ninab," "the city of Asherah" must be sought in the neighbourhood of Erech. The name is represented by two ideographs, one representing the goddess Asherah (whom the Babylonians identified with their Istar), and the other *unu* (not *ab*) "city."

and has been published by Mr. Pinches in the *Transactions* of this Society. The proper names, however, contained in the document show that although the language of the country was Semitic, it was not Babylonian, but belonged to the West Semitic or "Hebraistic" branch of the Semitic family of speech. Thus the king of Khana, in whose reign the contract was made, is called Isarlim or Israel (where the vowel of 𐤏 is lost as in the name of the Hamathite king Irkhulena, "the Moon is our god"), and among the witnesses are the judge Ilêsuch, whose name corresponds with that of Abêsuch, the Hebrew Abishua', and Yazi-Dagon; while Igitlim, Joktheel in Hebrew, is described as "the priest of Amurru," the "Amorite god." Like other "Hebraistic" names met with in Babylonian documents of the age of Khammurabi, the Khana names, it will be observed, are provided with the mimmatum, which was preserved also in the Minæan dialect of South Arabia, while traces of it are found in Hebrew as well as in the names Milcom and Jerahmeel.*

The contract relates to the sale of house property which was situated "in the city of the country of Kas[daim], in the district of the city of the country of Tirqa," and is dated from "the great gate of the palace of the city of the country of Kasdaim." The last character in the name of the city of Kasdaim is read *akk* by M. Thureau-Dangin, but his copy gives *im* rather than *akk*. The name is important, as it throws light on the Chesed and Casdim of the Old Testament. Kasda, as I have pointed out in a previous paper (*Assyriological Notes*, No. 1), was a city of the Sutê or Bedawin according to the cuneiform tablets, and the Sutê extended not only across Mesopotamia, but, as Prof. Delitzsch has shown, adjoined the eastern frontier of Babylonia as well. One of the "Hebraistic" names found in a document of the age of Khammurabi is stated to have belonged to a Sutû, and we may therefore conclude that they characterised not only the Amorites from Canaan who settled in Babylonia, but also the Bedawin tribes of Mesopotamia and the eastern bank of the Tigris, together with the population of South-eastern Arabia. Light is thus thrown on the Biblical use of the term Casdim to denote the people of Chaldæa,

* Compare the name of Yarkhamu in contracts from Tel Sifr, dated in the reign of Samsu-iluna (Strassmaier: *Die altbabylonischen Verträge aus Warka in the Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, II, pp. 95, 98, 100). It seems to be the origin of the Orchamus of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, IV, 212.

and it is possible that we may have to look for Arphaxad among the Sutê to the east of Babylonia. It is interesting to note, in connection with the name of Arpha-xad, that one of the witnesses to the Khana contract is "the messenger Iripu."

AN EARLY BABYLONIAN DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE
SHUHITES.

Among the Babylonian texts recently published by the British Museum is one (Bu. 88-5-12. 5), which is the beginning of a letter written in the age of Khammurabi, and relates to the affairs of the Babylonian empire in the West. A revolt, it seems, was meditated by the Šukhi or Shuhites (Job ii, 11) on the western bank of the Euphrates, who extended from the mouth of the Balikh to that of the Khabûr, and news of it was sent to the intelligence department of the Babylonian government. The following translation of the text will show what the letter is about :—

"As, my lord, thou knowest, when Sin-ikisam the envoy to the Shuhites was living in the citadel of the Shuhites, Zimrêdda the son of Dadû-rabi sent to his brother, his sons and the sons of Nisi-ilisu, bidding them revolt according to his message, but for 3 months no one revolted. (Then) Zimri-khammu the son of Napû-nandara listened to his counsel and the counsel of his sons: he set his lips accordingly, saying that he would flood his waves above the banks of the Euphrates and set up the rocks (?) * of the mountain like a lofty tamarisk (?) † This is the plot which at that time they plotted. (But) Yakiri the son of Išši-Dagon and 6 fighting-men from the country of Khanat who had heard of this plot from his lips spoke (of it) to Zimri-khanata the Amorite; Zimri-khanata the Amorite communicated the said plot to Sin-ikisam the envoy to the Shuhites; they seized the aforesaid Zimri-khammu and his associates. After they had described in an assembly how he had plotted, they took them to the temple of the god Yabliya for examination.‡ When

* *Kaputtim* may be connected with *kapu*, "rock."

† *Ki-ma bi-ni e-la*.

‡ *Burri*, from *barû*, "to examine," "decide," like *yubtirru*, "they described," in the previous line.

they had established the existence of this plot in the temple of the god Yabliya, Sin-ikisam demanded* men for a guard. Every day for a month he inspects (*ipakkid*) [the prisoners] . . . O my lord, thee he”

The rest of the letter is unfortunately lost.

Sin-ikisam, as is shown by his name, was the Babylonian ambassador or minister resident among the Shuhites. The name of Zimridda is familiar to us from the Tel el-Amarna tablets, where we hear of two Canaanites of that name, one the governor of Lachish, the other of Sidon. In Zimri-khammu the second element, as in Khammu-rabi, is the equivalent of the Hebrew עֵם. Zimri-khanata is more difficult to explain, unless *khanata* represents a Canaanitish Anata or עַתָּה, the goddess Anath.”† Yabliya must be a Shuhite deity, like Emu, who is stated in W.A.I. II, 54, 65, to correspond with the Babylonian Nergal, and Adgi, who in K. 2100, I, 19 is stated to be the Hadad-Rimmon of the Shuhites. The six companions of Yakiri, we are told, came from the country of Khanat, which must be the same as Khana, more especially as the last character *at* is not quite certain. It is possible that the territory of Khana extended across the Tigris, westward through Mesopotamia to the Euphrates and the towns of the Shuhites, though its original position was to the east of the Tigris, adjoining the land of Lulubi.

* I read *yurris*.

† Zimri-khammu would signify “famous in song is the god 'Am,” Zimrêdda, “famous in song is the god Addu” or Hadad. Zimri occurs alone in the Old Testament.



THE TOMB OF PEPI ANKH (KHUA), NEAR SHARONA.

BY M. BRODRICK, PH.D., AND A. ANDERSON MORTON.

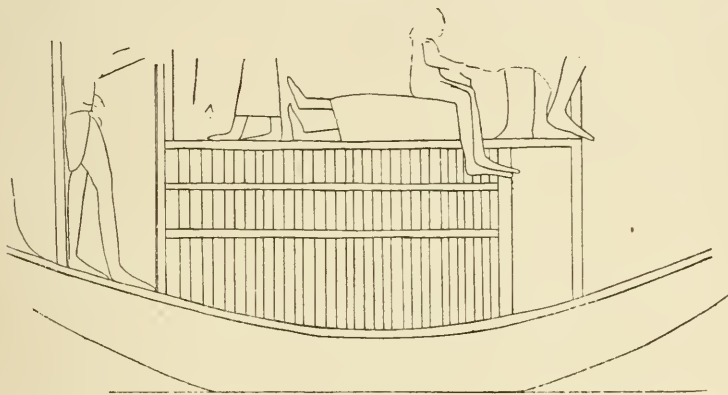
THE tomb of Pepi Ankh (Dynasty VI) stands about three-quarters of a mile inland from the Nile, and is on the east bank of the river. It is immediately behind a small village called Kôm el-Ahmar Suares, which is midway between Sharona and Shêkh Fadl. Sharona is opposite to Behnesa (Oxyrhinchus), and the name of the Oxyrhynchite nome appears in that of the son .

Nestor l'Hôte, during his first visit to Egypt, in the beginning of this century, saw part of it, and made a small sketch of this, together with a ground plan of that portion which was then excavated. (Nestor l'Hôte's MSS. in the Bibl. Nationale, Vol. III., pp. 211-214.) The tomb is mentioned also in a letter of Jan. 3, 1839. (Nestor l'Hôte's Letters, p. 31.) Since then, so far as we know, no account of it has been given. In 1896 we spent a few hours near Sharona and made the following very rough and incomplete sketch of the tomb, the upper part of which has been excavated. The shafts, though open for two or three feet at the top, are still choked with sand and rubbish. The underground chambers on Plan II, which are under B, are so silted up that we could only crawl through them on hands and knees. D has evidently been used by the Arabs as a stable for goats, etc. The whole of the visible part of the tomb shows signs of severe ill-treatment.

The walls are covered with the usual tomb scenes of this period and hieroglyphic inscriptions. Pepi Ankh, or Khua, and his wife Merut are both represented; as also two youths, whom, though not expressly stated to be their sons, we may presume to be so. The owner of the tomb is seen fowling in the marshes with decoy birds; a hippopotamus has seized a crocodile in his mouth; well executed fish swim about in the water, and the lotus and papyrus plants are admirably represented. There are still traces of colour on the walls.

On the east wall (Plan I A) of the tomb is a boating scene, unfortunately much mutilated ; but, apparently on the high deck of the dahabiya, a woman with a child in her lap has seated herself with extended legs, but with the body in an upright position (see sketch).

The tomb proper consists of a chamber cut in the rock A, 27 ft. $\times$ 16 ft., the roof of which has nearly disappeared, as have also the upper parts of the south wall and a large portion of the east wall. To the right on entering is a shaft with oblong mouth sunk in the rock, round the top of which a ledge has been cut, in which to insert a slab intended to cover the opening. This open shaft is now filled with sand and rubbish to within a few feet of the surface ; but at the north end can be seen the top of an opening, nearly



silted up. At the left of the entrance is the descending passage (Plan II), with the chambers leading out of it already alluded to. In the furthest chamber *e*, lies the top of a fine white limestone sarcophagus, face downwards. The Arabs have tilted it up in order that the face may be seen, and the features are already blackened by the smoke of candles placed underneath them. The date of this sarcophagus is much later than the tomb ; so one must conclude either that at some subsequent period Pepi Ankh's tomb was re-used, or that the Arabs have broken in from some of the XXVIth dynasty tombs close by and dragged the sarcophagus lid thus far, meaning to bring it up to the light of day by Pepi Ankh's staircase. We were told by the natives that "beyond" (*e*) was a well, in which were "statues and mummies."

In the north-west corner is another shaft with descending stairs.

On the west side is a chamber B, containing two false doors with inscriptions; one is for Pepi Ankh, the other for Merut his wife. The walls are covered with scenes and inscriptions (Plan VI). Before the false doors are what appear to be the mouths of shafts; one, however, proved to be only an imitation covering slab cut in the rock, the other was full of soft earth, and gave out a dull hollow sound when struck.

On the north wall of Plan I, A, the Bedawin have excavated a grotto (D), thus destroying a large portion of the scene and the inscription. Another hole (C) has been forced in the same wall, and this leads into a shaft open to the air from the top, and down the side of which holes have been cut at regular intervals. Standing in this shaft, on the present level of sand and loose stones, the top of an entrance into a chamber or passage is distinctly seen, above which is roughly sculptured the sign  *kres*, "burial." The walls show traces of red paint. Probably this portion is not part of the tomb of Pepi Ankh at all, but is a separate tomb of later date.

Among the various titles held by Pepi Ankh (Khua), were those of:—

Hā, prince.

smer uāti, confidential friend of the king.

kher heb, lector.

kher heb her dūdū, chief reciter.

mer res, overseer of the south.

mer khent, "overseer of the garden" (*Erman*).

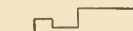
seten an, the royal scribe.

haq het, ruler of the palace or fortress.

There is an allusion (P. Plan VIII) to the pyramid Men-nefer of Pepi I.

PLAN I.

A, A, A. Walls roughly faced. A², has holes at regular intervals down the sides.

1.  roughly cut over entrance to a shaft (?)
2. Doorway not original, as it is broken through the decorations.
3. Top of shaft. At *a*, about 3 ft. deep, a passage leads off.
4.  Section of doorstep.
5. Unexcavated shaft filled up with loose earth.

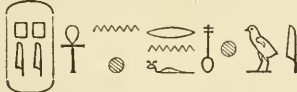
6. To imitate 5, but is cut in the natural stone floor to imitate a covering slab.
7. Figures at entrance of door almost obliterated.
8. Height of door, 4 ft. 7 ins.
Portions marked  are roofed in.

PLAN II.

- a. Few rough steps.
- b. Chamber almost silted up with rubbish and sand.
- c. Narrow passage in westerly direction.
- d. Chamber, (?) from which (e) another chamber leads off, having square pillar in the middle; on the floor lies the sarcophagus lid.

PLAN III.—NORTH WALL OF OUTER COURT. A.

- A. Man with throw-stick, holding two decoy birds; a child at his feet.
- B. B. Papyrus and lotus marsh.
- C. C. Hippopotamus devouring crocodile.
- D. Man spearing fish.
- E. E. Several well-drawn varieties of fish and lotus heads.
- F. Man carrying a huge fish.
- G. Split fish.

- H. H. 
- I. 
- J. Inscription almost illegible.

PLAN IV.—EAST WALL OF OUTER COURT. A.

- A. Hole patched up with mud and bricks.
- B. Boat with figures, much damaged (see sketch), probably woman nursing child.
- C. Two greyhound-like dogs.
- D. Feet of geese; upper part of wall destroyed.
- E. Scenes obliterated; a few hieroglyphs left, but not consecutive.
- F. Man with bare feet carrying his sandals.

PLAN V.—WEST WALL OF OUTER COURT. A.

- A. Owner of the tomb, standing.

B. his name

C. Wife of owner of tomb, standing.

D. her name

E. Slender lotus column.

F. Tables of offerings.

G. Knee-high figure of standing child.

H.

K.

L. Offerings.

M. Pepi Ankh, standing.

N. N. Two short male figures.

P.

Q.

R. Lists in minute incised hieroglyphs.

S.

T.

U.

V.

DESCRIPTION OF CHAMBER B.

PLAN VI.—NORTH WALL.

Pepi Ankh is seen seated in front of a table of offerings. There are three registers of scenes representing the presentation of funerary offerings.

- A.  ?



- B. 



- C. C. C.     
- D. D. D. Almost effaced hieroglyphs.
- E. 


- F.    (cf. P. Plan V.)
- G.    (cf. Q. Plan V.)

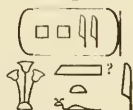
PLAN VII.—EAST WALL, TO RIGHT OF ENTRANCE.

A. Man carrying porcupine (?) in cage.

B. Man with offerings.

over him :     

beside him :   ?



C. Similar figure to B.

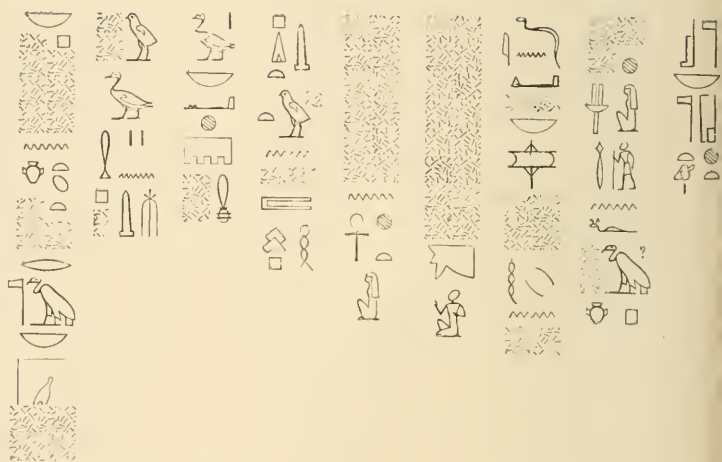
over him :     

in front of him :   
  

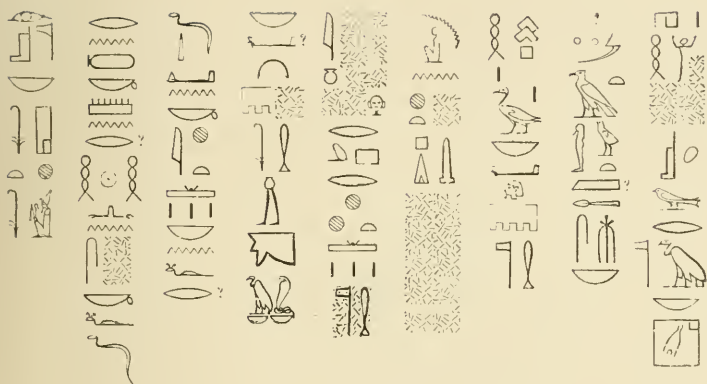
D. Similar figure to B.

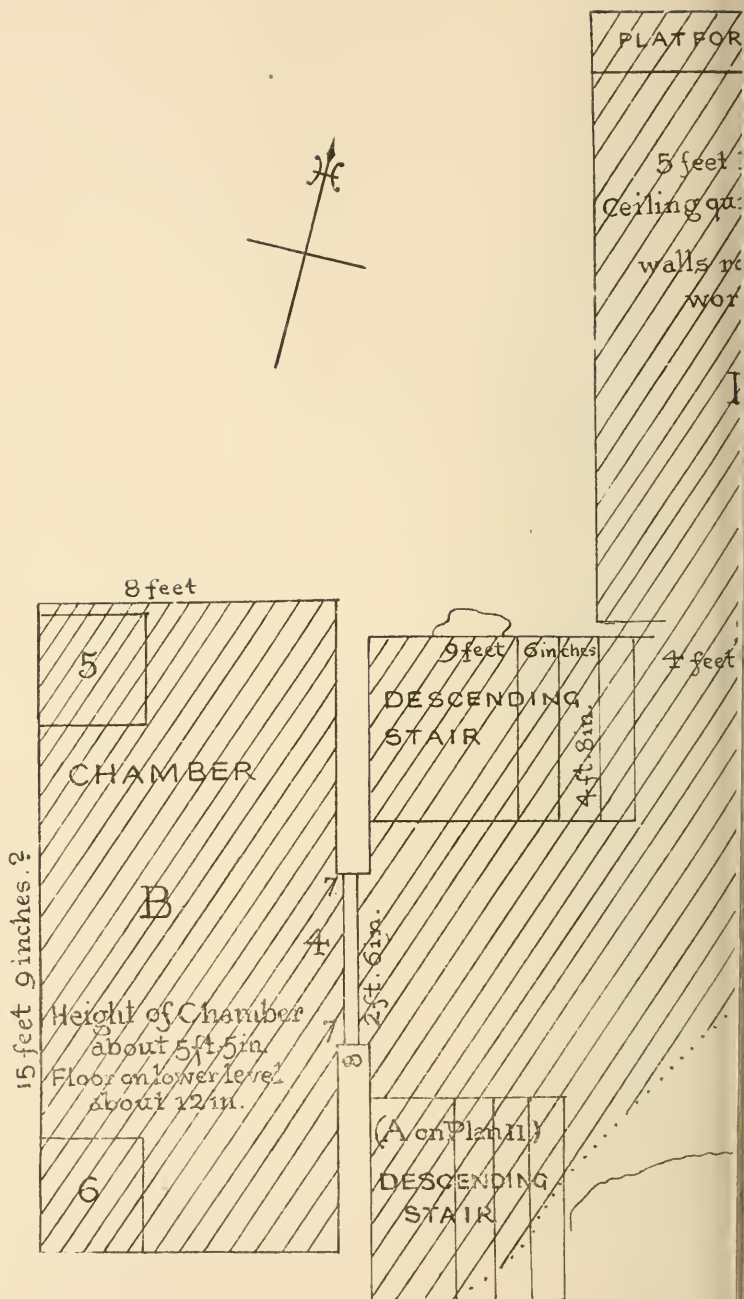
over him :   

in front of him :  
 



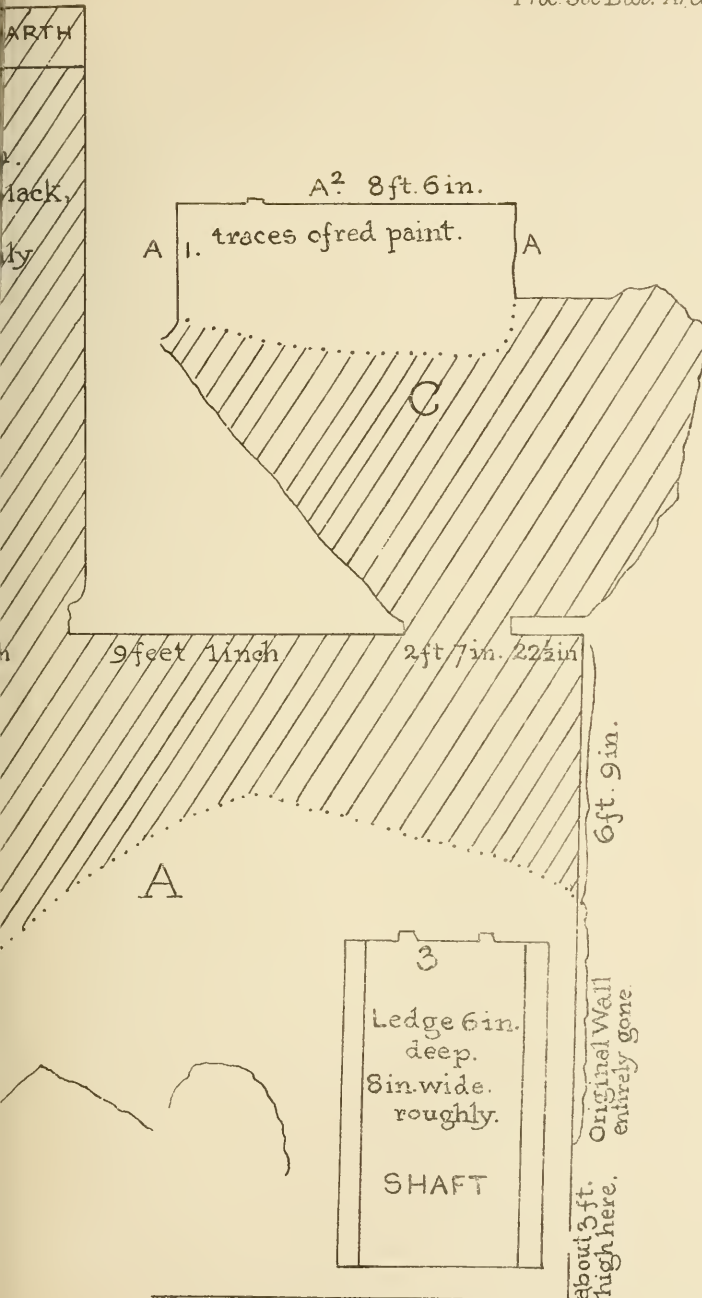
TOMB AT KÔM EL-AHMAR B



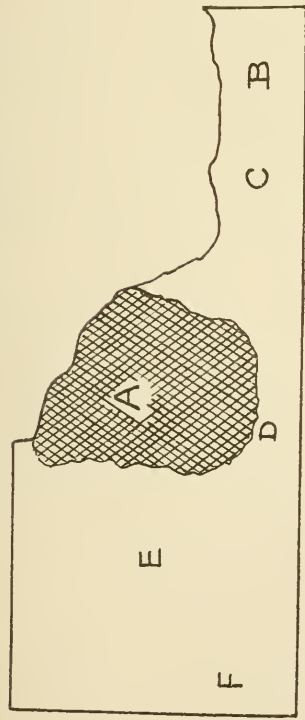


P L A

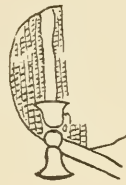
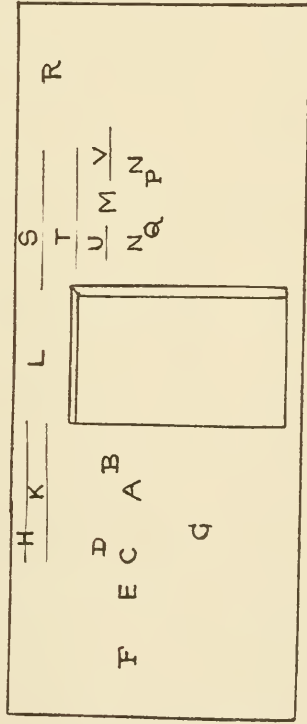
TOMB OF PEPI ANKH (K)



PLAN IV, E WALL OF OUTER COURT A.

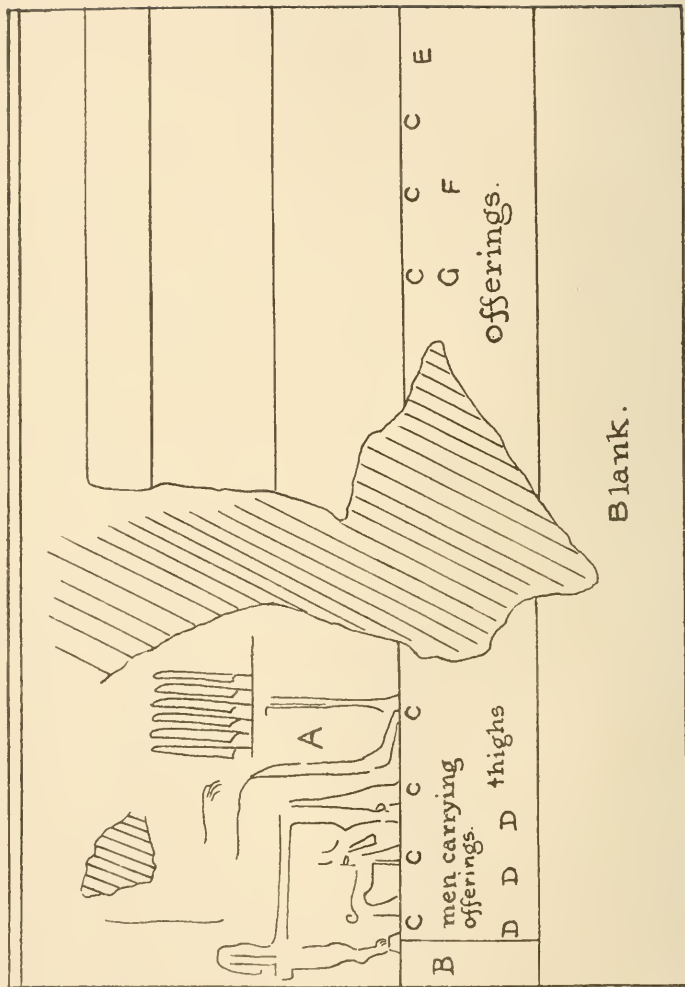


PLAN V, W WALL OF OUTER COURT A



Head dress of woman
c PLAN V.

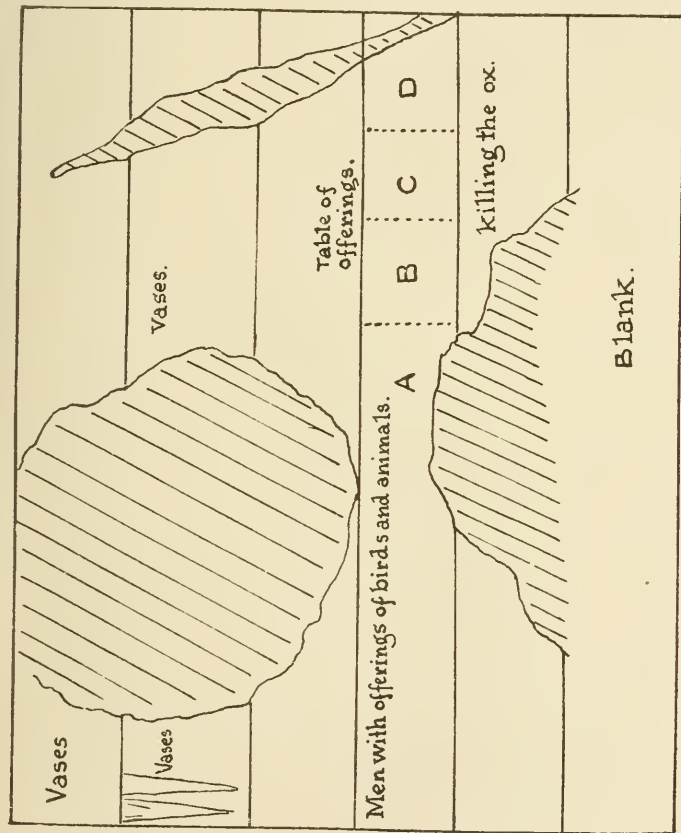
PLAN VI, N WALL OF CHAMBER B.



E. Wall to left of entrance quite the same, only no hieroglyphs.

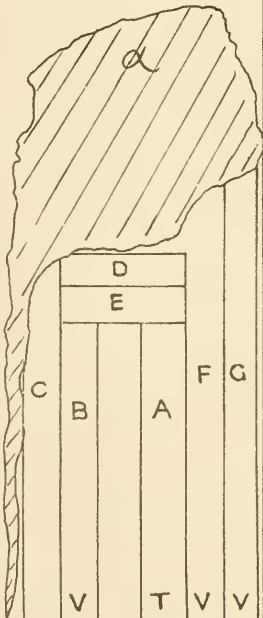
S. Wall almost identical with N wall

PLAN VII, E.WALL TO R. OF ENTRANCE B.

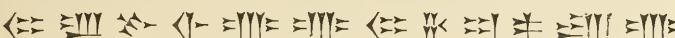
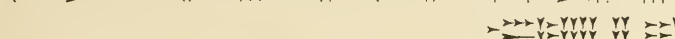
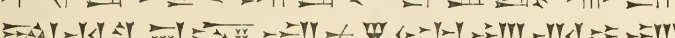
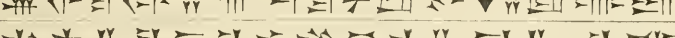
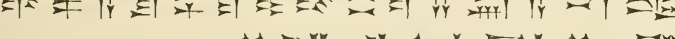
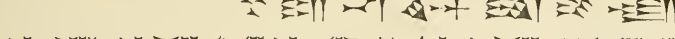
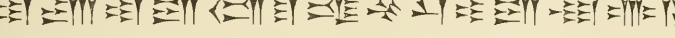
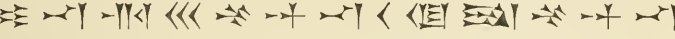
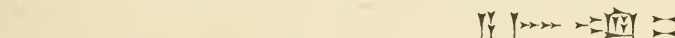
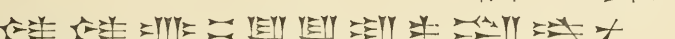
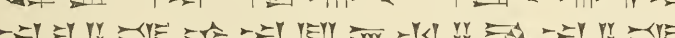
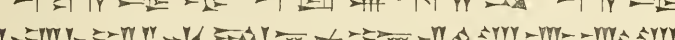
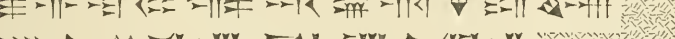
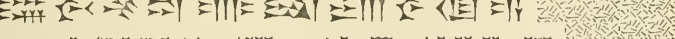
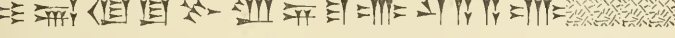
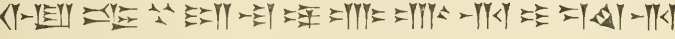
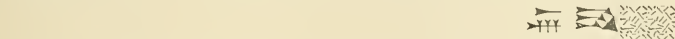
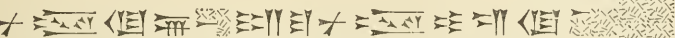
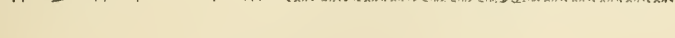
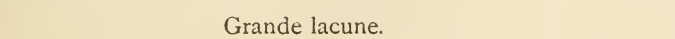
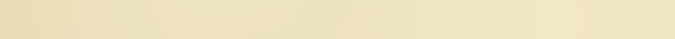
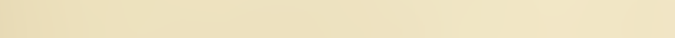
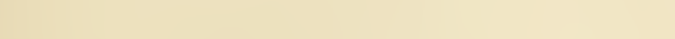
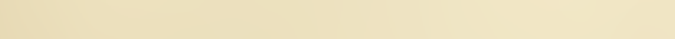
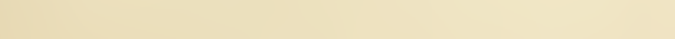
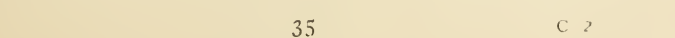
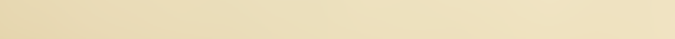
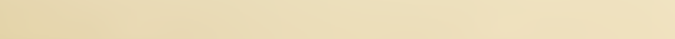
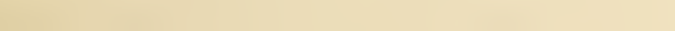


TOMB OF PEPI ANKH (KHUA) NEAR SHARONA.

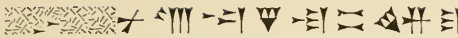
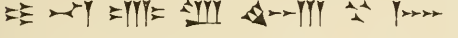
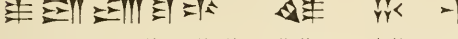
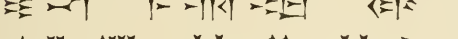
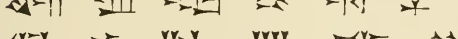
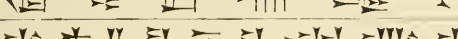
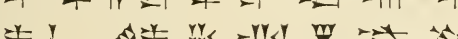
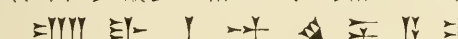
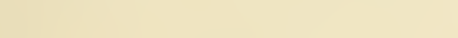
PLAN VIII, WEST WALL

	Small figures nearly effaced.	Lists. (of offerings and hieroglyphs)
	Jars	 minute kneeling figures nearly effaced inscriptions.
	Men of Aamu type?  bringing various things hung over arms, lead and otherwise. Some hold five birds ground with birds.	
	Men of same type.	
	Men of "snouty" type carrying	
	Blank.	



19.  19. 
20.  20. 
21.  21. 
22.  22. 
23.  23. 
24.  24. 
25.  25. 
26.  26. 
27.  27. 
28.  28. 
29.  29. 
30.  30. 
31.  31. 
32.  32. 
33.  33. 
34.  34. 
35.  35. 
36.  36. 
37.  37.

Grande lacune.

24.  25.  26.  27.  28.  29.  30.  31.  32.  33.  34. 

K. 3456.

TRANSCRIPTION ET TRADUCTION.

1. la ša a man
2. am-mi
3. i-zi
4. a-na ma
 vers
5. šarru
 le roi
6. su-pi-e
 les prières
7. iš-me-ma
 il entendit
8. ša am na
 qui

9. gub-bu ba nâru
la citerne du fleuve
10. ša bu-ri? nu-uh-[šu]
du puits? débordement
11. mi-lu HI . GAR ša ilu? *
la masse des eaux catastrophe que le dieu?
12. ik-lu-šu bi-i-šu ú-pa-na-aq?
il l'empêcha? mauvais il?
13. šu-šu la qar-ba-a-tum
marécage campagnes
14. ba-ma-a-tum ħi-ra ta-me-ra-a-ti
les collines environs
15. ħur-ru na-ad-ba-ku ú-šat-ba-lum šadu U-a-i
caverne versant (les eaux) entraînèrent la montagne Uai
16. a-na ta-me-ra-a-ti id-ni-nu in-gi-ru ú-ga-ru
les eaux recouvrirent les environs ravagèrent la campagne
17. aš-rat la me-riš-ti (ana) ? lu-ti it-tur
les lieux incultes se transformèrent en ?
18. i-na ki-ši i-ši-ħu šam-mi
dans le poussèrent les plantes
19. ša ħa-ru-ub-ti irši-tim ip-pa-ṭir ki-rib-ša
de la catastrophe terrestre fut brisé l'intérieur
20. mi-rit bu-lim ú-šam-mi-ħa† ap-pa-ta ú-šaħ-ša-ab
le pâturage des bestiaux prospéra la campagne devint fertile
21. alpu ũ sisû ip-pu-šu ru-'u-ú-ta
le bœuf et le cheval firent l'amitié
22. id-ħu-ud kar-as-su-nu ša eli ta-ri-i-ta
se dilata leur ventre plus encore que celui d'une femme enceinte
23. ir-ši-ma ul-ša lib-ba-šu-nu ip-pu-ša ša-lu-ú-ta
joyeux fut leur cœur il se livra à l'allégresse ?

* išakk-an ?

† littéralement : il fit prospérer.

24. alpu pa-a-šu epuš-ma i-qab-bi iz-za-kar a-na sisû
le bœuf ouvrit la bouche parle et dit au cheval glorieux
 na'-id qab-li
au combat
25. at-ta-aṭ-ṭa-lam-ma dum-mu-qa i-da-tu-ú-a
je regardais, mes visions étaient favorables
26. i-na ri-eš šatti u ki-it šatti aṭ-ṭa-ṭa-al
au commencement de l'année et vers la fin de l'année je voyais
 mi-ri-ti
un pâturage
27. iḥ-tar-bu-ni mīlu kiš-ša-ti it-taq-bu-šu * mê naq-bi
la masse des eaux fait rage, les eaux de l'abîme jaillissent
28. šu-šu-ú BIL.LU.LU šippâti? il-tak-nu
roseaux, marais, plantations? ?
29. ḥur-ru na-ad-ba-ku ú-šat-ba-lu šadu U.a.i
caverne, colline, (les eaux) entraînent, le mont Uai
30. ba-ma-a-tum ub-ba-lu ir-ḥu-ša qar-ba-a-tum
les éminences elles (les eaux) entraînent, elles inondèrent les champs cultivés
31. ana ta-me-ra-a-ti id-ni-nu in-qi-ru ú-ga-ru
elles recouvrirent les environs elles ravagèrent la campagne
32. aš-rat la mi-riš-ti ir-ri-ša ra-aḥ-šu
les lieux incultes l'eau abondante fertilise
33. amēlu naggaru mu-du-ú it-ta-rak qi-e . . .
le naggaru intelligent tourne la . . .
34. i-dak-ki ku-bu-ru-ni-ma u-qa-a-a-ú
Les arbres idakki grandissent ils élèvent?
35. ū sisû la-tur ú-ga-ri i-tar-ri sa-qar
mais le cheval ne revint pas? à la campagne, il s'éloigne?
36. nu-uk ki-ir-?-† ra-ma nu-uk i-si-ki?
 ? ? ?
37. e-li-ma ina la ú

* jaillissent contre lui

† nu-uk-ki-ir, comment faut-il transcrire?

VERSO.

1. it-ti ?
avec
2. šim-ti u ?
?
3. erû 𐎶𐎵𐎶 A dan-na . . . ú ur-du
de cuivre
4. ki-ma šu-ba-ti na-al-bu-ša-ku i-ik
comme d'un vêtement je suis vêtu
5. e-la ia-a-ti tur la si-me 𐎶𐎵
moi ?
6. šarru šakkanakku e-nu u rubû ul i-ba'-ú pa-da-na
le roi le grand vizir ? le seigneur et le prince ne viennent pas ici
7. alpu pa-a-šu epuš-ma iqabbi iz-za-kar a-na sisû na'-id qab-li
le bœuf ouvrit la bouche parle et dit au cheval superbe dans le combat
8. at-ta ma-a e duk-ku tak(q)-di-ra
toi en effet tu ne
9. i-na taḥâzi-ka mi-i-ni
dans ton combat qui
10. edlu narka-bat ?? mu-ra-ku ??* ti'-ú-ti
le grand les chars longueur ? harnais
11. i-na su-me-ia šu-ub-bu-tú
dans mes ? la vigueur
12. i-na buânê-ia šu-ub-bu-tú
dans mes tendons la vigueur
13. ú-ši mu-un-daḥ-ši iš-pa-ta
il est sorti du guerrier le carquois
14. iz-zu-ti a-ri-ri na-ša-a-ta
les terribles ariri ? tu portes
15. ka-lu-bu bēlê-ka šu-ut
l'éperon de tes maîtres dans

* voir le commentaire.

16. ul tam-mar kib-sa ki-ma dun-na
tu ne vois pas la route comme
17. bal-ša-a-ma i-na-ka ul
voilés ? sont tes yeux
18. ul tal-lak ur-ḥa eli ap-pa-ta
tu ne vas pas sur le chemin qui mène à la prairie .
19. sisû pa-a-šu epuš-ma iqabbi
le cheval ouvrit la bouche parle et dit
20. i-na šim-me-ia ḥi-da
dans mes . . . la joie ?
21. ka-lu-bu ú
l'éperon
22. kakke
les armes
23. še ú ki-tú
24. . . an-nu lib-ba-ša la-bi-im-ma
? son cœur
25. i-na e-bir nâru šu
au delà du fleuve
26. i-na ú-ru-uḥ mâtâte i
sur la grande route des contrées
27. aš-da-ta-ma alpu ḥar-ḥa-ru ?
tu tires péniblement, ô bœuf, la shadow
28. i-na šip-ri-ka ul iṣ-ša
dans ton labeur
29. im-ru-ka taḥ-ḥu qaq-qa-ri ? . . .
ta nourriture le taḥḥu du sol
30. ki-i UR . NUN sisû - . . .
ainsi . . . du cheval
31. alpu pa-a-šu epuš-ma iqábbi iz-za-kar a
*le bœuf ouvrit la bouche parle et dit au cheval glorieux
dans le combat*

32. aš-šu ḥar-ḥa-ri ša taq-bu-ú
au sujet de la shadowf dont tu viens de parler
33. nis-ḥu maḥ-ru-ú i-nu-um AN Iš-tar šur-bu-tum
Chapitre premier (du poème): Lorsque la noble Istar
34. E . KAL Aššur-ban-apla šarru kiššāti šarru .
Palais d'Assurbanapal roi des kiššāti roi . . .

COMMENTAIRE.

Ce fragment de poème connu sous le nom de “la fable du cheval et du bœuf” présente de grandes difficultés d’interprétation. George Smith qui le premier l’a fait connaître, ne s’était pas laissé arrêter par les obstacles qui proviennent en grande partie de la forme poétique du texte. Aussi ne pouvait-on espérer de sa traduction qu’elle fût fidèle ni même qu’elle rendît le sens approximatif de l’original. J’aurais préféré m’abstenir de traduire ce document si précieux, mais c’est un métier par trop ingrat de publier simplement des textes sans y ajouter un commentaire ni même un essai de version, quelque imparfait qu’il soit. Je ne sache pas qu’il ait été fait une publication du texte cunéiforme quoique plusieurs assyriologues paraissent en avoir fait des copies. C’est dans le but de rappeler l’attention des savants sur cet extrait d’une épopée où Istar semble avoir joué peut-être un rôle prépondérant, que j’ai présenté aux lecteurs des *Proceedings* ce petit travail. Je n’ai pas besoin d’ajouter que la copie a été faite avec soin et que la tablette ne renferme que peu de passages incertains. De grandes lacunes sont à déplorer. L’original en effet comprenait 4 sections sur le recto et 5 sur le verso. Pour ce qui est du sens général nous pouvons établir la division suivante :—

- A. Description d’une inondation ; il s’agit probablement d’un raz de marée qui avait ravagé la contrée. Cette première partie se termine par la rencontre du cheval et du bœuf, qui se lient d’amitié.
- B. Le bœuf raconte au cheval son rêve et dans son récit nous retrouvons presque mot pour mot la description du cataclysme décrit dans A.
- C. Ici deux lacunes ; la fin du discours du bœuf manque ainsi que le début de celui du cheval.

D. Le bœuf reprend et semble s'apitoyer sur le sort de son camarade, esclave de l'homme, qui lui laboure les flancs de ses éperons.

E. Le cheval répond avec fierté et fait un tableau poussé au noir de l'existence du malheureux bœuf, qui sur le bord de la rivière tire péniblement la shadouf.

Ainsi finit le premier chapitre du poème.

George Smith paraît avoir eu sous les yeux des fragments d'une tablette qui me sont inconnus. J'ignore ce qu'ils sont devenus mais on peut espérer que des copies du texte original ne tarderont pas à revenir au jour, ce qui permettra alors de le comprendre dans son entier. Le document qui nous a été conservé, a été rédigé à une époque récente et doit être une copie faite sur l'ordre d'Assourbanapal. La forme poétique est celle de tous les poèmes assyro-babyloniens connus ; la coupe des phrases et le rythme d'après les recherches de Zimmern sont ainsi donnés : Recto l. 20 et suiv. :—

ša ḥarúbtī || iršítim || ippátir || kiríbša
mfrít búlim || ušammīḥa || appáta || úšáḥṣab

Pour finir j'ajouterai quelques petites observations.

Recto.

L. 6. su-pi-e = les prières. Il existe en assyrien un autre mot *supû* ; cf. Harper, *A.B.L.*, Vol. I, p. 110, l. 17, où nous lisons *sîru supî*, c'est-à-dire le revêtement du *supî* ; *supî* donc = partie d'un édifice ; voir pour *sîru* que Haupt rend quelque part par cuirasse, Del., *H. IV.*, p. 489.

L. 12. ú-pa-na-aq = úpánnaq ; si la restitution proposée est possible on se rappellera le verbe *panâqu* (v. Del., *H. IV.*, p. 532, et Meissner, *Supplem.*, s.v.). L'assyrien semble avoir possédé deux verbes *panâqu*, l'un commun aux autres langues sémitiques avec le sens de "réjouir," l'autre signifiant, "garnir, appliquer, border, encadrer, incruster" et qu'il faudrait peut-être mieux lire *banâqu*. L'idéogramme 𐎶𐎵 rend les verbes *panâqu*, *malâlu* (Brünnow) ; *malâlu* = s'amuser, se réjouir, IV R. 30, No. I, l. 14 : *mi-na-a ša la ib-nu-qu* = qui ne s'est pas réjoui, qui ne se serait pas réjoui. Le sens de "garnir, appliquer, etc.," ressort nécessairement du passage invoqué par Meissner ; l. 15 : la montagne U-a-i ; je ne sache pas qu'on puisse lire autrement ; où faut-il situer cette montagne ?

L. 23. šalûta ; šalûtu d'un thème 𐎶𐎵 ne paraît pas signifier

ici, action de s'étendre, de se coucher, mais plutôt avoir un sens analogue à ulša.

L. 25. de même que l'auteur de la Geste de Gilgames, celui de l'épopée de la noble Istar donne au cheval l'épithète de na'id qabli.

L. 26. miritu qui se trouve également l. 20, signifie pâturage, cf. Meissner, *Supplem.*, p. 87.

L. 28. BI. LU. LU = pakittu, v. *H.W.*, p. 176 et p. 524. Le sens m'est inconnu ainsi que celui de šī. PA; pakittu doit avoir une signification parallèle à šūšu. Marduk est le seigneur du BI. LU. LU, très fréquent dans les textes de Reiser; quant à šipa le passage cité, *H.W.*, p. 571, ne permet pas de le traduire par šippātu, "plantation de roseaux." Quoiqu'il en soit notre texte nous apprend que šūšu, pakittu, et šipa = šippatu, sont assez rapprochés les uns des autres au point de vue de l'idée qu'ils expriment.

L. 31. idninu = prt. de danānu; ingiru = prt. de nagāru c'est-à-dire naqāru; on sait que le passé se conjugue: iqqur mais iqqir n'est pas improbable.

L. 33. Jensen dans sa *Kosmologie*, p. 394, n'a pas donné de preuves suffisantes lorsqu'il rend naggaru par "charpentier." Que ce mot ait eu cette signification cela paraît assez plausible, mais notre texte fait douter de l'exactitude de cette interprétation. J'inclinerai à rapprocher naggaru de ikkaru = agriculteur, quand même au point de vue philologique cette explication se heurte à quelques obstacles. La glose "en-ga-ar" cependant nous permet ce rapprochement qu'elle fortifie. L'école de M. Halévy affirmera sans hésiter le sémitisme de cette glose. Quant aux partisans de la théorie sumérienne ils décomposeront en-ga-ar en en + ga-ar = en + gar = maître + travail aux champs c'est-à-dire agriculteur. Il ressort de tout cela qu'il peut parfaitement avoir existé en assyrien un substantif nangaru = ikkaru et un autre naggaru qui se retrouve en syriaque sous la même forme et avec le sens de "charpentier;" it-ta-rak = IV₁ ou I₂ de tarāku, mais que signifie cette fin de la ligne 33.

L. 34. Je regarde i laqqi non pas comme appartenant au verbe daqû, qui signifie 1° élever, dresser, 2° renverser, détruire (voir mes documents relatifs aux présages, Fascicule III), mais comme un substantif; ne serait-ce pas tout simplement: ildaqu, *H.W.*, p. 60, sous une forme légèrement contractée? u-qa-a-a-û faut-il lire ainsi ou u-qa-a-a ú . . . ; le verbe signifie généralement "attendre," voir Del., *H.W.*, p. 582, et Meissner, *Supplem.*, p. 83.

L. 35. la-tur = la itur si c'est ainsi qu'il faut lire? itarri me paraît devoir être rapproché de *itarri* de *N.E.*, XI, l. 155, mais quel en est le sens? celui de "disparaître" ressort du contexte.

L. 36. nu-ug est un adverbe très fréquent dans les textes de Harper, *A.B.L.*, Vol. I, p. 90, l. 5, Recto, Vol. II, p. 139, l. 5, Recto, etc., etc.

Verso.

L. 6. padana que j'ai traduit adverbialement par "ici" n'est autre que le substantif padânu.

L. 10. Je propose une autre transcription de cette phrase : edlu narkabtu šugmuraku ti'úti ; šug (šuk, šuq) muraku serait la première personne du singulier, permansif III₁ d'un verbe gamâru, qamâru, kamâru. Le sens de la phrase serait à peu près celui-ci, si l'on considère ce qui suit : moi le bœuf, on utilise ma peau, pour en faire les cuirs des harnais et l'attirail du char et en effet il ajoute : dans mes? il y a de la vigueur, dans mes tendons il y a de la force. ti'-ú-ti = harnais ou plutôt, "accessoires d'un char;" cf. aussi Del., *H. IV.*, p. 697.

L. 14. našâta = 2^e personne du singulier du permansif de našû = porter.

L. 15. kalubu ; je ne connais pas d'autre passage où ce mot se rencontre. Je le traduis par "éperon" en comparant l'arabe كَلُوب, Lane, *Dict.*, p. 2627.

L. 17. balâšu (Brünnow, *I.C.L.*, p. 2 ; Del., *H. IV.*, p. 721). L'idéogramme šī. suḫ se décompose en šī = amâru + suḫ = naparkû, c'est-à-dire voir + cesser ou ne plus voir. Mais l'assyrien plus qu'aucune autre langue sémitique possède une foule de mots ayant deux significations exactement contraires et nous ne nous étonnerons pas si *balâšu* correspond ailleurs à *nikilmû*, contempler. Le contexte dans le cas particulier exige le premier sens, c'est-à-dire celui de : aveugler, voiler. Le bœuf dit au coursier : tu aspires en vain à brouter librement dans la prairie, mais le jour où l'homme t'enfourcha, tu devins son esclave pour toujours.

L. 20. šimmu, šimmeia signifie peut-être une partie du corps de l'animal.

L. 25. ina ebir nâri = au delà du fleuve ; cf. pour cette expression, Glaser, *M.F.A.G.*, 1897, III p. 3, et Meissner, *Supplem.*, p. 103.

L. 27. ašdatama 2^e personne singulier du permansif d'un verbe

9. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶
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 12. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (?) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (?) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶
 13. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (?) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (?) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶

La fin manque

TRANSCRIPTION.

1. kalbu ú-pu
le chien
2. ḥa-aḥ-ḥu-ru ú-pu ? en-na-ka i-bal
ḥaḥḥuru ? ?
3. it-ti a-ši-ia it-ti e-ri-bi-ia
à ma sortie à mon entrée
4. ḥa-aḥ-ḥu-ri ti-ši ṭe-mu a-šak-kan ?
ḥaḥḥuru ? la nouvelle je veux faire
5. ad-da-ni-ka ḥa-aḥ-ḥur ti . meš
je te donnerai ? ô ḥaḥḥur la vie ??
6. ina eḥ kamunu la te-gir ru . .
au sujet de la plante kamunu ne ? pas . . .
7. ki a da ? su-ḥa-ti ir-pi-iš
? ? ?
8. at-ti um-me-e Ištar Bâbili
toi ô mère ? Istar de Babylone
9. ban-ti ka-ak Ištar Bâbili
créatrice ? Istar de Babylone
10. at-ti um-me-e zikari
toi ô mère ? du zikaru*
11. ban-ti da- a-na danniš ba-na
créatrice ? beaucoup

* mâle.

12.	danniš	da-a-na	danniš	ba-na
	<i>beaucoup</i>	?	<i>beaucoup</i>	?

13.	a-aš	gab-bi-ši-na	. .
.		<i>elles toutes ?</i>	. . .

COMMENTAIRE.

Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, rien ne prouve que nous soyions en présence d'une fable ; on ne voit pas bien quel rôle joue le chien ici, si c'est lui qui s'adresse au ḥaḥḥuru et l'on peut se livrer à des suppositions sans fin. A partir de la ligne 8, la forme du texte change et cette invocation, cette glorification d'Istar ne laisse pas que d'étonner. Il est plus prudent de ne pas s'attarder actuellement à vouloir déterminer la nature du document ; ḥaḥḥûru est un oiseau de l'espèce des corbeaux ; ce mot se retrouve dans un texte très important qui sera publié dans le troisième fascicule de mes documents relatifs aux présages ; ḥaḥḥûru n'a pas d'équivalent dans les autres langues sémitiques ; voir Meissner, *Supplem.*, p. 37.



HEIDELBERG, 30th November, 1898.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I beg you to insert the following note in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

In the Catalogue No. 184 of Mr. Bernard Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly, I found (p. 24) the following notice :—

“The Trustees of the British Museum are about to issue an important Egyptian publication. It is a facsimile of the famous Rhind mathematical papyrus in the British Museum. This document, which deals with the elements of geometry, the theory of numbers, fractions, &c., was prepared for publication several years ago by the late Dr. Samuel Birch, but for some reason was not issued. It has now been revised, and a special introduction to the work prepared by *Dr. Budge*. *By some means Dr. Eisenlohr obtained copies of the plates, and issued a hastily-prepared translation, the numerous errors of which render it of little use.*”

As this notice contains an accusation against myself, (1) as having obtained copies of the plates by some wrong way : (2) as having issued a hastily-prepared translation, the numerous errors of which render it of little use. The same day I received the catalogue from Mr. Quaritch, I wrote to him inquiring who was responsible for the remarks, and refuting the imputation by pointing to p. 2, line 7, of my *Mathematisches Handbuch* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1877), where I explained that a copy of the papyrus was given to me in the spring of 1872 by Dr. Samuel Birch, the keeper of the Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum ; further, that my work was not issued before I got the permission of the same Dr. Birch. For the attack on my scientific fame, no man can pretend that my translation, after five years' hard work, was hastily prepared, and that the numerous errors render it of little use. I refer to the judgment of Prof. Cantor, Prof. Ebers and others in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and to every earnest Egyptologist. That my work on the papyrus was of great use can be proved by the articles of Mr. Griffith in the *Proceedings of Biblical Archaeology*. As Mr. Quaritch in his answer

does not name the author of the notice, I here point out the facts of the case, and I am compelled to ask who is really responsible for these insinuations. I await a clear answer to my question, and cannot believe that the Trustees of the British Museum would allow such remarks to be made about the work of a foreign Professor.

Yours truly,

PROFESSOR DR. AUGUST EISENLOHR,
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG,
Honorary Member of Bibl. Arch. Society.

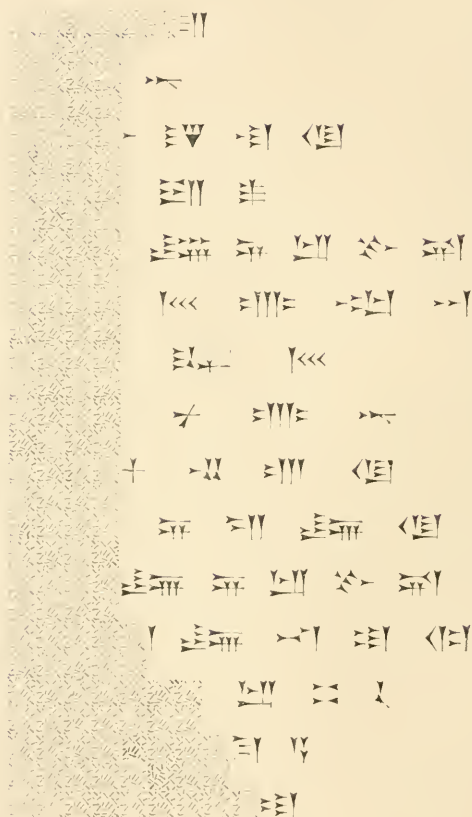
The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 7th February, 1899, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

DR. GASTER: "The Samaritan Scroll of the Law."

PLATE I.

K. 4541.

OBVERSE. COL. II.



TABLET FROM THE LIBRARY OF NINEVEH, NOW IN
THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

PLATE II.

K. 4541.

OBVERSE. COL. III.

[illegible]

TABLET FROM THE LIBRARY OF NINEVEH, NOW IN
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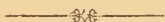
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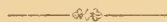
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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
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VOL. XXI. TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

Second Meeting, February 7th, 1899.



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PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1899.

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37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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PROCEEDINGS
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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION, 1899.

Second Meeting, 7th February, 1899.

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Prof. G. Maspero. *Bibliothèque Égyptologique. Tome septième. Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes.* 8vo. Paris. 1898.

From the Author:—Louisa Macdonald, M.A. *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases, and of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney.* 8vo. Sydney. 1898.

[No. CLIX.]

From the Author:—Rev. P. A. C. de Cara, S.J. Gli Hethei-Pelasgi in Italia o gl' Itali della 'storia. Peucezii-Daunii-Japigi-Messapi. *Civilt. Catt.* Nov., 1898.

From the Author:—A. Boissier. Note sur un Monument Babylonien se rapportant à l'extispicine. 8vo. Genève, 1899.

From E. Towry Whyte, M.A. Framed copy, in colour, of a Wall-painting from Thebes.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 7th March, 1899:—

Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm R. Haig, Rossweide, Davos Platz, Switzerland.

David Basil Hewitt, Oakleigh, Northwich, Cheshire.

Rev. J. P. H. E'sser, Alsdorf, bei Aachen.

The following Candidate was elected a member, having been nominated at the Meeting held on the 10th January, 1899:—

John Ward, F.S.A., Lenoxvale, Belfast.

A Paper was read, by Dr. Gaster, entitled, "The Samaritan Scroll of the Law," which will be printed in a future Part of the Proceedings.

Remarks were added by Dr. Friedländer, Mr. Joseph Offord, Mr. Alexander Payne, Dr. Gaster, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

L'EXODE DES HÉBREUX.

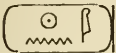
PAR J. LIEBLEIN.

(Suite.)

Comme nous avons vu plus haut, tout nous porte à croire que le texte Élohistique des livres Mosaiques a reçu sa rédaction substantielle dans les temps paisibles du règne de Ramsès II, lors des rapports intimes entre l'Égypte et les parties limitrophes de la Syrie. Cependant, il faut bien remarquer que cette rédaction a été faite environ deux cents ans après le temps de Moïse, et c'est une erreur grave d'en tirer des conclusions chronologiques pour l'exode et de croire qu'il doive être placé à l'époque, quand le récit que l'Élohiste en fait fut rédigé. Mais si le récit biblique ne prouve rien quant aux temps de l'oppression et de l'exode des Hébreux, il est nécessaire de chercher d'autres preuves plus concluantes.

Pour moi, je l'ai déjà dit, l'opresseur des Hébreux était Thotmès III, et l'exode tombait aux dernières années d'Aménophis III, si, toutefois, il avait lieu environ l'an 1320 a. J.-C. L'immigration dans le pays de Gosen doit être placée un peu plus de deux cents ans, ou, pour le préciser plus exactement, 215 ans avant, sous Apophis, un des derniers rois Hyksos, c'est-à-dire environ l'an 1535 a. J.-C. Dans la lettre aux Galates, iii, 17, St. Paul compte quatre cent trente ans d'Abraham à la Loi. Si nous divisons cette époque en deux moitiés égales, ainsi que l'on a fait avec quelque probabilité, nous aurons 215 ans d'Abraham à Joseph, et 215 ans de l'immigration sous Joseph jusqu'à l'exode sous Moïse. L'an 1535 a. J.-C., comme l'époque de l'immigration sous un des derniers rois Hyksos, s'accorde bien avec ma chronologie égyptienne d'après laquelle les Hyksos furent expulsés définitivement à la fin de la XVII^e dynastie, en l'an 1490. J'ai dit plus haut et déjà depuis presque trente ans * que le pays de Gosen, situé dans l'Ouady Tumilat, était canalisé, cultivé et habité aux temps des Hyksos, et peut-être déjà sous la XII^e dynastie, en supposant que c'était Aménemha III qui avait

* *Christiania Videnskabselskabs Forhandlinger* pour l'an 1870, p. 365 sq.

dirigeait les affaires militaires et étrangères, tandis qu'Aménemha III avait l'administration intérieure et surtout s'occupait de la canalisation du Nil et de l'irrigation du pays.* Au moins il est certain que  *Ma-n-re, Marre, Mare*,† le nom d'intronisation d'Aménemha III, était le Moeris d'Hérodote, le Marès d'Eratosthène, et le Marros de Diodore ; car c'est sans doute le même roi que Diodore (I, 61) appelle Marros, mais (I, 51) Moeris.‡

Le chronographe Syncelle dit que les Hébreux sont arrivés en Égypte l'an XVII d'Apophis. Mais quel Apophis ? Certainement un roi Hyksos qui aurait régné environ l'an 1535 a. J.-C., si notre supposition est correcte que les Hébreux séjournèrent en Égypte 215 ans, supposition qui se base non seulement sur l'indication de St. Paul dans la lettre aux Galates iii, 17, mais aussi sur cette circonstance que les généalogies bibliques ne donnent que trois générations pour le temps qui sépare Joseph et Moïse.§ Moïse, qui représente la quatrième génération, avait quatre-vingts ans au temps de l'exode ; les 135 ans qui restent pour les trois générations, en supposant un séjour de 215 ans, ne sont nullement improbables pour une série aussi courte que celle-ci, tandis que les 350 ans qui résultent de la supposition d'un séjour de 430 ans passeraient les limites de l'ordre général de la nature. Il est donc probable que l'indication de Syncelle est correcte, et que cet Apophis, le pharaon de Joseph, était un roi Hyksos. Mais les monuments nous donnent deux ou trois, peut-être encore d'autres Apophis. Les listes de Manéthon dans la rédaction d'Africain nous font connaître un Apophis comme le dernier roi de la XV^e dynastie ; M. Maspero l'appelle Apopi I^{er}. Il précédait donc immédiatement la XVII^e dynastie, car la XVI^e dynastie n'est qu'une récapitulation sommaire du règne des Hyksos ; c'est évident pour tous qui ne s'obstinent pas à fermer les yeux à la vérité. Mais cet Apophis, Apopi I^{er}, régna 61 ans, de 1702 à 1641 a. J.-C., selon ma chronologie, de sorte qu'il était plus de cent ans antérieur à l'immigration des Hébreux en 1535. L'Apophis de Joseph appartenait donc à la XVII^e dynastie.||

* Lieblein, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, p. 100 sq.

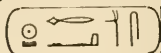
† Le Page Renouf, *An Elementary Grammar of the Ancient Egyptian language*, p. 8.

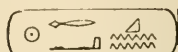
‡ Lieblein, *Recherches sur la chronologie égyptienne*, p. 82.

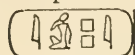
§ Lepsius, *Die Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 379.

|| Voyez l'arrangement chronologique de toute cette partie de l'histoire égyptienne dans mon livre, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, pp. 68-76.

Et à la vérité les autres Apophis dont nous connaissons l'existence appartenaient sans aucun doute à cette dynastie. Les voici :

Apopi avec le nom de l'intronisation  du papyrus mathématique, Apopi II selon M. Maspero.

Apopi avec le nom de l'intronisation  nommé sur quelques monuments de Tanis, Apopi III d'après l'opinion de M. Maspero.

 Apopi, nommé sur un "doorpost" trouvé dans le temple de Boubastis.*

Apopi du papyrus Sallier I^{er}.

Nous ne savons pas, si tous ces Apophis étaient différents ou non ; il n'y en a que deux qui sont différenciés par le nom d'intronisation. M. Maspero croit qu'il y avait trois Apophis ; c'est possible, quoiqu'il ne soit pas certain. Mais ce qui est bien sûr, c'est que l'Apophis de Joseph était un des derniers de ce nom, non seulement en conséquence de la chronologie qu'ici est péremtoire, mais aussi parce que la cour du roi Hyksos, où Joseph fut accueilli, était tout-à-fait égyptienne, ce qui ne pouvait être le cas qu'aux derniers temps des Hyksos, après qu'ils avaient été complètement égyptianisés. Lepsius pensait précisément, à cause de ce caractère égyptien de la cour, que Joseph arrivât à la cour d'un roi indigène de la XVIII^e dynastie, pas à celle d'un roi Hyksos ; il n'a pas vu que les Hyksos, à la fin de leur règne, avaient adopté entièrement les mœurs et les coutumes égyptiennes.

S'il est permis de dire quelque chose positive sur cette question, je serais tenté de croire que le pharaon de Joseph était cet Apophis qui a fait les constructions dont les restes sont trouvés par M. Naville dans le temple de Boubastis. Au moins il avait le pouvoir royal dans Boubastis et dans les environs, le pays de Gosen, car M. Naville a certainement raison quand il dit, au sujet de cette dernière époque de l'empire égyptien des Hyksos : "Bubastis was one of the chief residences of the Hyksos kings, who raised there more important constructions even than those of Tanis, which was generally considered as having been their capital. It is quite possible that Joseph resided frequently at Bubastis, which was at the entrance of the land of Goschen. Therefore he had his family close by, and he could easily communicate with them."

* Naville, *Bubastis* (1887-1889), p. 22, pl. XXXV, C.

A la vérité, le pays de Gosen que le roi Apophis donna à Jacob et à sa famille était situé dans la vallée qui s'étend à l'est de Boubastis jusqu'aux lacs amers et au lac Timsah ; il n'y a plus aucun doute possible après les fouilles de M. Naville pendant l'hiver de 1882-1883, par lesquelles il a retrouvé la ville de Pithom-Heroopolis, malgré les efforts de Lepsius* de prouver le contraire. Aussi les savants académiciens de Berlin, Dillmann et Mommsen,† qui pour la plupart sont d'accord avec M. Naville, font-ils une objection, importante selon eux, mais qui se base seulement sur une ponctuation fautive de l'endroit d'Hérodote II, 158 :

Νεκὺς ; ὃς τῇ διώρυχῃ ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ. . . ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν, (ἦκται δὲ) κατ' ὕπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος· παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν.

Larcher a traduit cet endroit ainsi :

"Nekos entreprit le premier de creuser le canal qui conduit à la mer Erythrée. . . L'eau, dont il est rempli, vient du Nil, et y entre un peu au-dessus de Boubastis. Ce canal aboutit à la mer Erythrée près de Patumos, ville d'Arabie."

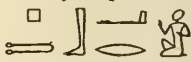
Or, les savants nommés de Berlin ponctuent avant ἐσέχει δὲ, mais non pas après Βουβάστιος πόλιος, et ils traduisent par conséquent : "L'eau. . . y entre un peu au-dessus de Boubastis près de Patumos ville d'Arabie. Le canal aboutit à la mer Erythrée." Mais c'est de méconnaître totalement, et d'une manière étonnante, le parallélisme clair et palpable des membres de la période. Et d'ailleurs,—c'est une observation que je dois à M. Schjött, le professeur de la langue grecque de notre université,—ce serait une addition superflue et inutile, et par conséquent une faute impardonnable contre le bon sens et la belle langue des Grecs de dire : "creuser le canal *qui conduit à la mer Erythrée*" et immédiatement après d'ajouter : "*ce canal aboutit à la mer Erythrée,*" tandis qu'il est tout-à-fait raisonnable de dire : "l'eau vient du Nil et entre dans le canal un peu au-dessus de Boubastis ; près de Patumos ville d'Arabie il (le canal) aboutit à la mer Erythrée." La particule δὲ dans ἐσέχει δὲ donne la seule raison philologique qui puisse motiver la ponctuation fautive ; mais ce δὲ se laisse comprendre et philologiquement expliquer aussi avec la ponctuation correcte ; toutefois si l'on préfère de statuer une transpo-

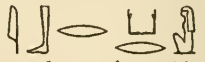
* Lepsius dans *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, &c., Jahr 1883, pp. 41-53.

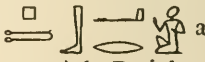
† *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, l'année 1885, pp. 891 sqq., et l'année 1887, p. 363.

sition ou de δέ ou des mots *παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν*. D'ailleurs un manuscrit, D de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, porte δὴ au lieu de δέ: ἐσέχει δὴ ἐς τὴν E. 9. Pour ma part, je crois que M. Naville a raison, d'autant plus que j'ai déterminé la situation exacte de Pithom longtemps avant ses fouilles en 1882-1883. Dans un mémoire, lu le 14 Octobre 1870, dans la Société de Sciences à Christiania, et publié dans les actes de la société pour l'an 1870, j'ai donné assez complètement mes raisons pour placer la ville de Patumos-Pithom-Héroopolis précisément à l'endroit où M. Naville l'a trouvée en 1883.

Pour résumer, je le répète, le pays de Gosen était situé dans la vallée de Tumilat, le long de l'ancien canal de Boubastis à l'ouest jusqu'à Pithom à l'est, et ce pays a été occupé par Jacob et sa famille environ 1535 a. J.-C. sous Apophis, un des derniers rois des Hyksos, qui encore dominaient dans cette partie de l'Égypte et y résidaient.

Avant de quitter la discussion de cette question, je crois utile de relever un fait qui semble militer en faveur de l'opinion que Joseph est venu à la cour d'un roi Hyksos. Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, le nom de Potiphar que portait le haut fonctionnaire, dont Joseph était l'esclave, pourrait très bien être identique au nom  *Pt—bar*, qui figure à la tête d'une généalogie dont j'ai donné la table dans mon *Dictionnaire de noms* No. 553. *Potibar* est visible-

ment une composition hybride de  égyptien, probablement identique à , et de , nom du dieu sémitique Baal, et indique d'une manière curieuse que l'homme qui portait ce nom était un sémite égyptianisé. Aussi sa femme  portait-

elle un nom étranger, peut-être sémitique, du moins n'était-il pas égyptien. Cette couple a donc très bien pu appartenir à la cour des Hyksos, et, comme leurs descendants de la sixième génération, vivaient après que le culte d'Aménophis I et d'Ahmès noferari était institué, ou, pour préciser approximativement la date, environ 1350 a. J.-C. sous le règne d'Aménophis III, notre  a

vécu environ 1550, précisément à la même époque où le Potiphar de Joseph, selon moi, vivait à la cour du roi Apophis. Je ne veux pas dire que Potiphar et  nous nomment le même

individu. Potiphar était d'après la Genèse xxxix, 1 attaché à la cour du Pharaon, tandis que  était  le chef des scribes d'Amon ; mais je crois que les deux noms sont identiques, et qu'ils remontent au même temps ; aussi n'est-il pas impossible que le titre *le chef des scribes d'Amon* ait été donné après coup à  par ses descendants complètement égyptianisés, quand ils avaient obtenu cette dignité sous la XVIII^e dynastie.

“Or Joseph mourut, et tous ses frères, et toute cette génération-là.

“Et les enfants d'Israël foisonnèrent et multiplièrent extraordinairement, et ils s'accrurent et devinrent très-puissans, tellement que le pays en fut rempli.

“Depuis il s'éleva un nouveau roi sur l'Égypte, qui n'avait point connu Joseph.” *

Le nouveau roi, qui n'avait point connu Joseph, ne pouvait pas être le successeur immédiat d'Apophis, le pharaon de Joseph ; car le vers 7 indique un assez long intervalle ; mais c'était la nouvelle dynastie indigène, la XVIII^e, qui naturellement n'avait aucune connaissance de Joseph.

Cependant l'oppression des Hébreux ne commença pas, non plus, avec le commencement de la XVIII^e dynastie. Selon moi l'avènement de cette dynastie eut lieu l'an 1490 a. J.-C., quarante-cinq ans seulement après l'immigration des Hébreux, et encore les vingt-cinq ans d'Ahmès, le premier roi de la dynastie, ne sont pas comptés, probablement parce que l'expulsion des Hyksos et la consolidation de la nouvelle dynastie n'avaient pas été terminées avant, mais pendant son règne. Ahmès, le fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie, monta donc au trône en 1515 a. J.-C., c'est-à-dire vingt ans après l'arrivée de Jacob et de sa famille au pays de Gosen. Si l'on s'en tient au récit biblique, et ne veut pas le rejeter entièrement, il faut avec nécessité reconnaître qu'un espace de vingt ou quarante-cinq ans n'est pas assez long pour motiver la persécution et l'oppression des enfants d'Israël, de sorte qu'il n'est point probable qu'Ahmès ou ses successeurs immédiats y aient pensé.

Aussi Ahmès, Aménophis I, Thotmès I, Thotmès II, et la reine régnante Makaré furent-ils tellement occupés, d'abord par l'expulsion des Hyksos et par la guerre faite en Asie à la suite de l'expulsion, et

* L'Exode, i, 6-8.

plus tard par les troubles relatifs à la succession royale, qu'ils n'avaient pas le loisir nécessaire, comme ils n'avaient aucune raison urgente pour attaquer les Hébreux, qui vivaient d'une manière paisible et loyale dans une vallée éloignée du théâtre de la guerre. D'ailleurs, les quatre premiers rois de cette dynastie n'ont probablement exercé que peu d'activité dans le Delta ; car jusqu'ici au moins on n'a pas trouvé aucun monument de leur règne dans cette partie de l'Égypte.*

Mais enfin Thotmès III monta sur le trône, et tout changea. Il était le plus fort et le plus grand conquérant de tous les pharaons ; il écrasa tous ses ennemis, il élargit, autant au nord en Asie qu'au sud en Afrique, les frontières de son pays plus qu'aucun autre roi égyptien n'avait fait. Il régna, d'après ma chronologie, jusqu'à l'an 1386 ; à sa mort les Hébreux avaient donc demeuré cent quarante-neuf ans en Gosen, et pendant son règne les Égyptiens pouvaient par conséquent très-bien commencer à craindre leur multitude croissante. Les Hébreux exilés ont toujours et partout été des sujets loyaux, et ils l'étaient sans doute également en Égypte ; cependant ils étaient un peuple étranger, et Thotmès III, le puissant pharaon qui avait écrasé tant d'ennemis ne pouvait pas sans inquiétude et indignation voir un peuple étranger au cœur de l'Égypte. Ici nous pouvons apprécier la valeur des mots de la Bible II M., i, 9-11 :

“ Et il (le pharaon) dit à son peuple : Voici, le peuple des enfants d'Israël est plus grand et plus puissant que nous.

“ Venez donc : agissons prudemment avec lui, de peur qu'il ne multiplie ; que s'il arrivait quelque guerre, il ne se joigne aussi à nos ennemis, qu'il ne combatte contre nous, et qu'il ne se retire de ce pays.

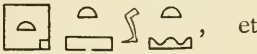
“ Ils établirent donc sur le peuple des commissaires d'impôts, pour l'accabler de charges ; et le peuple bâtit des villes fortes à Pharaon : savoir, Pithom et Raamses.”

Je crois que Thotmès III fut l'oppresser des Hébreux. Je l'ai dit plus haut en citant Théophilus ad Autolyicum III, § 20, où il est dit expressément que Tethmosis avait persécuté les Hébreux, et qu'il leur avait fait bâtir les villes de Pithom, de Ramsès et d'Héliopolis. A vrai dire, nous ne connaissons aucun monument de ce roi dans le Delta ; mais c'est un fait négatif qui ne prouve rien de positif. Pour citer un exemple, M. Naville nous apprend, relativement au temple de Boubastis, que Ramsès II a couvert tout le temple de son nom.

* Naville, *Bubastis* (1887-1889), p. 29.

"At first sight," il ajoute, "it looks as if he alone and the Bubastites had to be credited with the foundation of the beautiful sanctuary, which was the object of the admiration of Herodotus. But it is just the reverse ; a careful study of each inscribed stone has revealed that all the great architraves which bear his name had been usurped, and that nearly everywhere his inscriptions were engraved on elder text." *

Il est ainsi possible que les noms de Thotmès III sont couverts par ou cachés sous les inscriptions de Ramsès II ; car M. Naville a trouvé à Boubastis quelques traces des constructions faites par Aménophis II, le successeur immédiat de Thotmès III, sans parler des autres monuments y découverts des rois postérieurs de la XVIII^e dynastie. Mais ce ne sont pas seulement les successeurs immédiats de Thotmès III qui ont travaillé ici, aussi la reine Makaré, qui régnait avant lui pendant son enfance se vante-t-elle d'avoir exercé son activité dans le Delta. Dans une inscription de Stabl Antar, publiée par M. Golenischeff, elle parle ainsi : "Je rétablissais ce qui était en ruine et je relevais ce qui était excellent jadis ; car il y avait eu des Aamou au milieu de la Basse-Égypte et de Haouar, et des pasteurs de leur nombre avaient détruit les travaux (anciens). Ils régnaient ignorant le dieu Ré." †

Les Aamou  et les pasteurs 
, qui étaient dans Avaris , et
 régnaient ignorant le dieu Ré ,
 c'étaient sans doute les Hyksos, et la reine Makaré a commencé, pour la première fois après leur expulsion, de rétablir l'ancien ordre et l'ancienne religion dans la Basse-Égypte. Quoiqu'il y ait peut-être quelque exagération ici, néanmoins il doit être permis de croire, que la reine Makaré a fait des restaurations et des constructions dans le Delta pour petites qu'elles fussent, et d'en tirer en outre cette autre conclusion : quand Makaré, qui avait précédé immédiatement Thotmès III, et qu'Aménophis II, son fils qui le suivait sur le trône, ainsi que d'autres successeurs de la XVIII^e dynastie, ont pu bâtir dans la Basse-Égypte, il n'y a aucun motif pour nier que Thotmès III, qui était le plus puissant de tous, ne l'ait fait également. Il n'y a donc absolument rien qui nous porte à douter de la véracité de

* Naville, *Bubastis* (1887-1889), p. 36.

† *Recueil de travaux*, vol. III, p. 2 sq. et vol. VI, pl. col. 36-38.

Bahari. Il s'exprime ainsi : " Mais à l'inverse de nos savants confrères je ne crois pas que Thotmès III compte dans son règne les années où il a été associé à sa tante. Les cinquante-trois années de son règne partent du moment où il a été seul au pouvoir, après la mort de Hatshepsou (Makaré) ; et le début de son règne sur lequel nous avons peu de renseignements, a été consacré à des campagnes en Éthiopie, suivant l'usage habituel dans cette dynastie." *

D'ailleurs les dates chronologiques de la Bible relatives aux époques de la vie de Moïse ne sont pas données d'une manière tellement exacte qu'il soit possible d'en tirer des conclusions certaines pour la chronologie égyptienne.

Nous croyons donc que Thotmès III était le Pharaon sous lequel les Hébreux bâtirent les villes de Pithom et Raamsès. Et à la vérité c'est précisément du règne de ce roi que date le tableau qui nous représente des Sémites employés à faire du mortier et des briques, et à maçonner des murs. †

A vrai dire, il ne s'agit pas des villes de Pithom et de Raamsès dans ce tableau, dont le sujet, d'après l'inscription ajoutée, est la construction d'un temple dans Thèbes. Mais le travail est le même, les esclaves qui travaillent sont des Sémites, les gardiens égyptiens surveillant les travaux sont les mêmes ; en un mot, notre tableau est une illustration parfaite du récit biblique relatif à la servitude des Hébreux en Égypte. Il n'y a donc rien d'invraisemblable dans ce que Théophile nous raconte, que Thotmès III fut le Pharaon qui a fait bâtir les deux villes, Pithom et Raamsès, par les Hébreux.

Pour le site de ces villes, celui de Pithom est aujourd'hui bien connu. Pithom était situé dans la partie orientale de l'Ouady Tumulat à l'endroit où est Tell-el-Maskhoûta de nos jours ; nous l'avons vu plus haut, et c'est prouvé surabondamment par la description que la dame Silvia Aquitana nous donne de ces contrées :—

Pithona etiam civitas, quam ædificaverunt filii Israel, ostensa est nobis in ipso itinere : in eo tamen loco ubi iam fines Egypti intravimus, relinquentes terras Saracenorum : nam et ipsud nunc Pithona castrum est. Heroum autem civitas, quæ fuit illo tempore, id est ubi occurrit Joseph patri suo Jacob venienti, sicut scriptum est in libro Genesis, nunc est come, sed grandis, quod nos dicimus vicus. . . Nam ipse vicus nunc appellatur Hero : quæ tamen Hero a terra Iesse (Gosen) milliario iam sextodecimo est, nam in finibus Egypti est : locus autem ipse satis gratus est, nam et pars quædam fluminis Nili ibi currit.‡

Nous voyons que Pithom et Hero étaient ou la même ville, ou

* Naville, *La succession des Thoutmès d'après un mémoire récent*, p. 38.

† Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, 40-41.

‡ *S. Silvia Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*. Ann. 385-388, pp. 38 et 39.

des villes voisines, et qu'elles étaient situées seize milles romains à l'est de Gosen, sur la frontière orientale de l'Égypte, vers le territoire des Saracens ou des Arabes, et près des lacs amers (appelés sinus Heroopoliticus par Plinius).

Quant au site de la ville de Raamsès les opinions ont différé. Lesseps croyait qu'elle était située près de Tell-el-Maskhûta, et pour ce motif la station du chemin de fer à cet endroit a été appelée Ramsès, comme aussi M. Naville commença ses fouilles ici dans l'espoir de trouver cette ville, mais, à son grand étonnement, il trouva la ville de Pithom au lieu de celle de Raamsès. Brugsch était d'opinion que la ville de Raamsès biblique était identique à Tanis; dans son *Dictionnaire géographique* il essaie longuement de le prouver; mais ce qu'il nous donne n'est pas tant des preuves solides que de fortes assertions.* Toute sa théorie sur l'emplacement des villes de Pithom et de Raamsès et du pays de Gosen, comme sur l'exode des Hébreux, tombe devant la simple constatation du site véritable de Pithom près de Tell-el-Maskhûta. Pour moi, en 1877 déjà, dans une petite carte qui accompagnait mon mémoire sur l'exode des Hébreux, j'ai placé la ville de Raamsès au milieu de l'Ouady Tumilat, vers Tell-el-Kebir de nos jours.† Et il paraît que j'y ai tombé juste, guidé par le récit de la Bible sur l'exode; car l'ouvrage déjà cité de Silvia Aquitana, publié dix ans plus tard, place la ville de Raamsès précisément au même endroit où je l'ai placée sur ma carte. Nous y lisons que la ville de Raamsès était située quatre milles romains (quatuor milia passuum) à l'est de la ville d'Arabia. D'après l'opinion de M. Mommsen cette ville, civitas Arabia, était identique avec Thou de l'Itinéraire d'Antonin.‡ Or Thou, probablement situé près d'Abou Souleimân de nos jours, était, selon cet Itinéraire, à 24 milles romains (environ 36 kil.) de Hero, et comme la ville de Raamsès, d'après Silvia Aquitana, était située quatre milles romains (six kil.) à l'est de la ville d'Arabia ou de Thou, il s'ensuit qu'elle était à 20 milles romains (30 kil.) de Hero-Pithom,§ et 30 kil., c'est exactement la distance actuelle sur le che-

* Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 415-433.

† Lieblein, *Egypten*, dans *Ur vår tids forskning* 19, p. 57.

‡ Mommsen dans *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1887, p. 357 ss.

§ De Arabia autem civitate quattuor milia passus sunt Ramessen. Nos autem, ut veniremus ad mansionem Arabiæ, per media Ramesse transivimus: quæ Ramessen civitas nunc campus est, ita ut nec unam habitationem habeat, etc.—*S. Silvii peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, 39.

min de fer entre la station Tell-el-Kebir et la gare près de Tell-el-Maskhûta. L'ancienne ville de Raamsès dont Silvia Aquitana indique le site, c'est-à-dire la ville de Raamsès biblique, était donc située près de Tell-el-Kebir ; il n'y a aucun doute possible, si l'indication de Silvia Aquitana est correcte, et si l'on ne préfère pas de croire qu'elle s'est trompée, égarée par le désir de retrouver les localités bibliques.

C'était de cette ville de Raamsès, située au milieu de l'Ouady Tumilat, que les Hébreux commencèrent leur exode de l'Égypte.

De là ils vinrent à Succoth, c'est-à-dire aux environs de Pithom-Heroopolis. Et ils partirent de Succoth et campèrent à Etham, qui est au bout du désert, près du lac Timsah. Mais ici ils détournèrent ; au lieu de continuer la marche sur le chemin du pays des Philistins ils se tournèrent au sud et campèrent devant Pihakhirot, près des lacs amers (sinus heroopoliticus), qui alors formaient la partie septentrionale de la mer rouge.

Telle a été, depuis longtemps, mon opinion sur la route de l'exode des Hébreux, et je l'ai émise pour la première fois en 1871,* et depuis lors je l'ai maintenue † contre la théorie fantastique de Brugsch.‡ Aujourd'hui je suis heureux de me trouver d'accord sur ce point, comme sur beaucoup d'autres, avec M. Naville§ indépendamment l'un de l'autre.

Les Hébreux partirent de l'Égypte pendant les dernières années d'Aménophis III. Je le répète, puisqu'il y a des faits nouveaux qui semblent le prouver d'une manière directe. Je trouve le premier fait dans les lettres de Tell-el-Amarna. Ce sont les lettres d'Abdkhiba de Jérusalem au Pharaon, sans doute Aménophis IV, qui ici sont concluantes. Nous y lisons : ||

Lettre 179, l. 17-20 : " Je dis au fonctionnaire du roi, Monseigneur : pourquoi aimez-vous les Khabiri et laissez-vous les princes (vassaux) ? "

Lettre 179, l. 55 : " Les Khabiru ont pillé tous les pays du roi. "

Lettre 180, l. 29-31 : " Cet acte, c'est un acte de Milkili et un acte des fils de Lapaja, qui ont donné le pays du Pharaon aux Khabiri. "

* Le journal : *For Ide og Virkelighed*, l'année 1871, p. 85 ss.

† Volrath Vogt, *Det hellige Land*, Christiania, 1879, pp. 739 ss.

‡ Brugsch, *The Exodus*, dans *Transactions of the second session of the internat. Congress of Orientalists*, pp. 260-281.

§ Naville, *The route of the Exodus*.

|| Je donne les numéros des lettres d'après Hugo Winkler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, Berlin, 1896.

Lettre 181, l. 35-40 : " Mais les Khabiru prennent aujourd'hui les villes du Pharaon ; le roi n'a pas (gardé) un seul prince (vassal) ; ils sont tous perdus."

Lettre 183, l. 11-12 : " Le pays du Pharaon est perdu en faveur des Khabiri."

Lettre 183, l. 21-22 : " S'il n'y a pas de troupes, le pays du Pharaon sera perdu en faveur des Khabiri." *

La situation politique en Palestine ressort clairement de ces lignes. Le Pharaon Aménophis IV y domine ou directement par ses fonctionnaires, gouverneurs, ou indirectement par des princes indigènes, vassaux tributaires. Mais un peuple étranger, les Khabiri, dans lesquels il doit être permis de voir les Hébreux, s'approchent ; ils ont pris plusieurs villes, et ils menacent d'en prendre davantage et de conquérir tout le pays. Cependant Abdkhiba demande au Pharaon des troupes pour défendre le pays contre eux. N'avons-nous pas dans ces Khabiri les Hébreux, qui après avoir quitté l'Égypte sous le règne d'Aménophis III, s'avancent jusqu'à Canaan sous celui d'Aménophis IV pour prendre possession de la Terre Promise ? Je ne crois pas qu'il soit possible de se présenter la chose autrement.

Je viens à l'autre fait. Une inscription triomphale de Ménéphthès, découverte par Petrie en 1896, s'exprime ainsi : " Kheti est en paix, Canaan est prisonnier en tout ce qu'il a de mauvais, l'Ascalonien est emmené, Gézer est entraîné en captivité, Ianouâmîm est anéanti, *Israïlou est rasé et n'a plus de graine*, Kharou est comme une veuve de la Terre d'Égypte." † Cette inscription nous apprend que Ménéphthès, pendant ses guerres en Syrie, a battu les Hébreux, appelés ici Israélites, sur la frontière occidentale de Palestine. Cette victoire aurait été impossible, si les Hébreux, comme il est généralement accepté, eussent quitté l'Égypte à la fin du règne de ce Pharaon. Tous les essais qu'on a faits pour expliquer historiquement notre inscription ont failli totalement, et ont dû faillir, puisqu'ils sont basés sur une fausse chronologie, tandis que tout devient clair, si l'on suppose, comme je le fais, que l'exode des Hébreux ait eu lieu immédiatement avant l'avènement d'Aménophis IV.

Avant de terminer j'ajouterai quelques mots concernant un ou deux faits qui militent en faveur de ma théorie sur l'exode :—

* H. Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, p. 303-313. M. Knudtzon, assyriologue norvégien, a bien voulu réviser la traduction.

† Traduction de M. Maspero dans son *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, II, 436 et 443 sq.

1. Josephus, historien juif, dans son récit de cet événement capital de son peuple, appelle le Pharaon de l'exode Aménophis, qui ne peut être qu'Aménophis III, car Josephus donne au roi un ministre, nommé Aménophis, fils de Paapis, qui sans aucun doute était identique au grand fonctionnaire Aménophis, fils de Hapou, qui jouait un rôle si éminent sous le règne d'Aménophis III.* Quoique le récit de Josephus ne nous donne pas l'histoire pure et complète, il y a cependant au fond des réalités qu'il ne faut point négliger.

2. La réforme religieuse d'Aménophis IV n'était-elle pas en rapport quelconque avec l'exode des Hébreux ? Je ne veux pas approfondir la question ici ; pour le moment je la pose seulement.

3. Un texte du papyrus Anastasi VI † nous raconte ce qui suit :

“ Nous avons fait le nécessaire pour ouvrir aux tribus de Shasou d'Aduma le château-fort de Ménephthès dans le pays de Succoth, aux étangs de Pitum du roi Ménephthès dans le pays de Succoth, afin qu'ils fassent vivre leur bétail dans la grande intendance du Pharaon.”

Nous apprenons ici que le Pharaon Ménephthès assigna une demeure aux tribus sémitiques dans le pays de Succoth, aux alentours de la ville de Pithom, c'est-à-dire dans le voisinage immédiat du pays de Gosen, où les Hébreux avaient demeuré. Il eût été impossible à Ménephthès de le faire, s'il eût été le Pharaon de l'exode ; il n'aurait pu donner asyle à un peuple sémitique dans la même contrée où il aurait persécuté un autre peuple sémitique, qui selon toute probabilité se serait allié aux nouveaux venus. Il m'est complètement incompréhensible, qu'on puisse concilier ces deux contradictions.

* Maspero, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, II, 448.

† Pl. 4, 13 à pl. 5, 5.

CHRISTIANIA, le 25 Novembre 1898.



SOME RECENT PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS.

By STANLEY A. COOK.

Our stock of Palmyrene inscriptions, to which additions are being almost yearly made, has received a substantial increase in a number of new inscriptions which Prof. D. H. Müller of Vienna has recently published together with notes, facsimiles and glossary in the *Denkschriften d. Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 1898, Band XLVI. A few of these, which, on account of the difficulties they contain, are of more than ordinary interest, are here given. Prof. Müller's transcription has been followed in quoting each inscription, and any new readings which have been proposed are relegated to the accompanying notes.

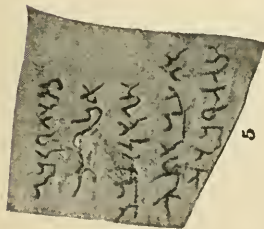
In an Appendix, Prof. Müller publishes (for the first time?) three inscriptions now in the British Museum. They are to be seen, along with other Palmyrene inscriptions, in the room devoted to Semitic Antiquities, and are numbered 583, 582 and 590 respectively.

A. (Br. Mus., No. 583.)

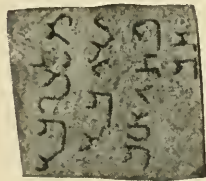
מוֹקִימוֹ
 בר גריא
 עתעקב
 [ע]בדא
 בא

“ Moḳîmu son of G . . yâ, Atê-‘aḳab”

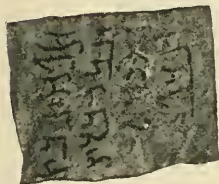
The first name, found in both Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, must, as the frequent Gr. *μοκειμος*, *μοκιμος* show, represent a form مُكَيْمٌ which, however, does not happen to occur as a proper name. גריא, if correct, would be a new name, but the point above the second letter upon which Müller bases this reading is scarcely the diacritic point which distinguishes ר from ד. It is too high, and is more probably due to accident. There is a similar point above the upper right-hand extremity of the first ע in l. 3. Reading גריא we may compare de Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale*, 32, the pronunciation of



5



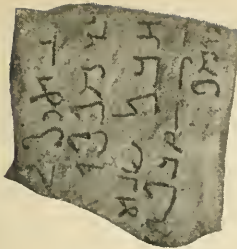
10



27^a



27^b



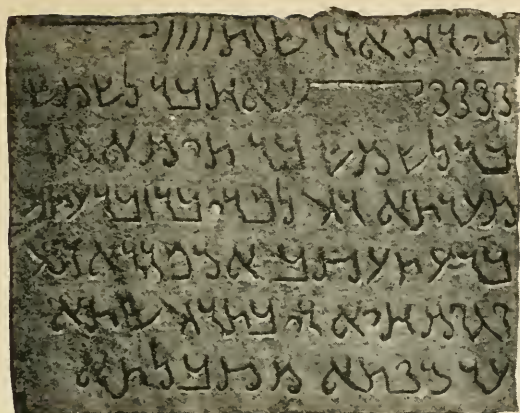
29



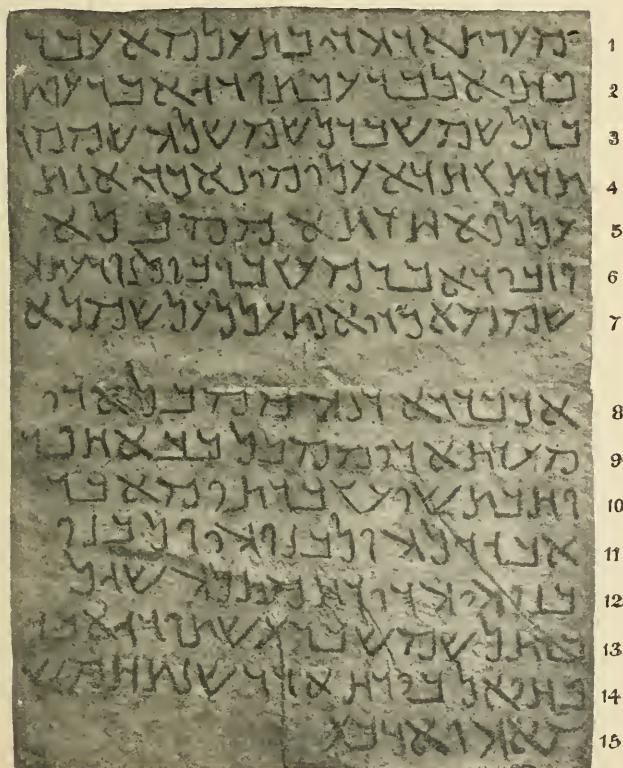
43

PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS.

From D. H. Müller, *Palmyrenische Inschriften*, Taf. i-iii.



42



46

PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS.

From D. H. Müller, *Palmyrenische Inschriften*, Taf. i-iii.

which is ascertained from the Greek *γαδίας*. In the fourth line the initial ע is perhaps rightly supplied. Though unknown in Palmyrene, עבדא occurs once in a Nabataean inscription from Hegra, and once in a Sinaitic inscription. עבדי, on the other hand, comes in Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 7, and עבד appears for the first time in these new inscriptions (No. 36, *צלם עבד ברחרא אקמא*). As an alternative we could read זבדא (Nab., and Palm.). The fragment which appears on the original would suit either. No trace of the initial character in the last line survives, we may make our choice from שבא, עבא, סבא, חבא, זבא. The first part of עתעקב, "Atê is a reward" (cp. בלעקב, Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 20), is the well-known goddess, whose name is also written עתא (*e.g.*, גדעתא), or עתה (*e.g.*, זבדעתה). עתי is found also as a female name, cp. below, p. 70.

B. (Br. Mus., No. 582.)

חבל
מקימו
בר מקימו

"Alas! Mokîmu son of Mokîmu."

For חבל see Prof. Wright's remarks in the *Transactions* of this Society, Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 439 f.

C. (Br. Mus., No. 590.)

מלכת ברת
אידען
חבל

"Malēkath daughter of Ayda'ân. Alas!"

Both names are new. With the former cp. מלכא, מלכו, מליכת (Gr. *μαλχος, μαλιχος, μαλειχαθος*), and מלכי, perhaps also the Heb. fem. מלִכָּה. The latter appears to be an Aphel form from ידע (cp. Palm. ^{סלס} אראש = ^{סלס} אראש), which we find in ידיעבל, "Bel is noble, or friendly."

The inscriptions contained in the body of Müller's collection were found by Dr. Alois Musil in the spring of 1897 on the road from Medaba to Palmyra. Of the forty which he has edited the following may be specially noted:—

5.

מריון בר
אל[הב]ל
חירן חבל
ריע בריתה
חגגו ברה

“Marion son of El[âh-b]el Ḥairân. Alas! Ḥaggâgu his son.”

מריון is formed from מַלְּךְ “lord” with the addition of Gr. *ων*, cp. the Nab. מלכיון (*μαλχιων*, Waddington, 1910) from מלכו, and αζιζων (*Waddington, 2413*) from עזיוו (Nab., Palm.). The restoration of l. 2 might be supported by מריון בר אלהבל (see Euting, *Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akad.*, Berlin, June 11th, 1885, pp. 669 ff., Palm. inscr., No. 23), but the final ל and the conjectured ה are both doubtful. The fourth line is to be read די עבד לה, “which (Ḥaggâgu his son) made for him,” cp. Ledrain, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, etc., II, 2, p. 68 (1889):—

עת[י] ברת
עתנתן
חבל די
עבד לה
ירחי
אחיה

“Atê daughter of Atê-natan. Alas! Which Yarḥai her brother made for her.”

Nos. 6^a, 6^b.

צלם ירחי בר מלכו בר ירחי חירן
. 480 אל בירח אדר שנת

In the absence of fuller details respecting this inscription it seems

easiest to reject the conjectural **רן** at the end of 6^a, and the supposed fragment at the beginning of 6^b, and read only one name **היאל**. The inscription will then run: "The statue of Yarḥai son of Malku, son of Yarḥai Hî-el. In the month Adar, year 480 (March, 169 A.D.)." **היאל** (cp. Euting, *Sinaitische Inschriften*, 370), as well as the Heb. **היאל** may represent **היאל** (אֵל), or should possibly be pronounced **היאל** ("El lives"). With **ירחי**, "belonging to the moon" (Gr. *ιαρῆιος*), we may compare the Heb. **שֶׁמֶשׁ**, "belonging to the sun," Ezra iv, 8; cp. **לשמש** No. 42, below, p. 73.

10.

מלכו בר
ידי בר
פתיחוב
חבל

"Malku son of Yaddai, son of Alas!"

For Yaddai (Gr. *ιαδδαιος*, cp. Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 5, etc.) cp. **ידי** Ezra x, 43, *ḵēri*. The name in the third line has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

15.

הדירת
אחא בר
בולחא
בר ברען
בר זבדעת[ה]
חבל
בירה
ניסן
שנת

480

"Hadîrat Aḥâ son of Bôlḥâ son of Bar'ân son of Zabd'atê. Alas! In the month Nisan, year 480 (April, 169 A.D.)."

הדירת is already known as a feminine name (Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 55), and unless here for once it is masculine we may possibly treat it as

a noun:—"to the glory of, &c." אחא "brother" is used as a proper name, so both אבא "father" and the diminutive אחוני ("my little brother") occur in an Aramaic inscription from Egypt (C.I.S. ii, 154). ברען (cp. ברעא in No. 2 of these inscriptions) reminds us of the Heb. בְּרִיעָה, Gen. xlvi, 17.

27^a, 27^b.

צלמת בת
חלי ברת
זמירא
חבל

שנת

500

38

"The statue of Bat-ḥēlî daughter of Zemira. Alas! Year 538 (226-227 A.D.)."

The feminine form צלמתא is used when the statue is that of a woman (cp. Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 13, 29). צלפא is similarly used in the Syr. *Apocryphal Acts* (ed. Wright), p. 49, l. 2, and analogous to this is the use of the fem. פלכא (e.g. Peshitta 1 Kings xv, 13), and the Phoen. סמלת (e.g., C.I.S. i, 11). Names compounded with בת are not unknown in Palmyrene, cp. בתמלכו and בתזבי. חלי, however, is new, but חליר appears in No. 16 of these inscriptions as a fem. name, and חלא is found in Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 132. For זמירא we should probably read זהירא ("prudent").

29.

עתיכא
בר מלכו
חבל שנת
513 בפון
יומך

This is, perhaps, the most difficult of the inscriptions in the present collection. The first name seems to recur in No. 16. It

has been identified with Εὐτυχής, which is more probably represented by the Palm. proper name **אוֹטֵכָה**. An alternative reading is **עֲתִיפָה**, possibly "Atê is beautiful" (?). The last two words are obscure. Prof. Müller renders "on the return of thy day" and conjectures that the statue was set up on the anniversary of the death of **עֲתִיכָה** Lidzbarski (*Handbuch d. Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 500) doubtfully reads **כִּנּוּן** (the eighth month Canūn), and finds in the **ך** of **יּוֹמֶךְ** the numeral sign for 20. The fourth sign in line 4 Müller takes to be 3. If a numeral sign at all it is more probably 2,* but it is just possible that it represents **י**, in which case we might read **יבִּכּוּן יּוֹמֶךְ** "may they bewail thy day."

44.

חבל
מקימו בר
תמא בישת
גדא

"Alas! Moḳîmu son of Tammâ the unlucky."

תמא is already known as a feminine name (Euting, *Sitz.-Ber.*, Berlin, 22nd April, 1887, 407 ff., Palm. inscr., No. 43). **בישת גדא** finds analogies in the Mishna; Müller cites Koheleth Rabba 97^a, *s.v.* **שמח**, and 89^a, *s.v.* **רמוצא**.

The inscriptions which follow (42, 43, 46) were found at Ḳaryatên, the ancient Nezala, on the road from Damascus to Palmyra.

42.

400	בירה אדר שנת	1
95	אחבר לשמש	2
	בר לשמש בר תימא מן	3
	מערתא דה לסרי בר זבדעתה	4
	בר עתעקב אבסדרא דנה	5
	וגומחיא די בתרה שתא	6
	עד כפתא מקבלתא	7

* Cp. the Arabic and Syriac ʔ in the table in Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 97, and see the last sign in the Palmyrene inscription from Rome dedicated to Aglibol and Malakbel (cp. *Zeit. d. Morgenl. Gesell.* xviii, 99 f.).

Curiously enough, we know of another inscription by the same author, dated five years later (188 A.D.), it has already been published by Prof. Nöldeke in the *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, ix, 264 ff., but for English readers may perhaps be repeated here :

500	בִּירַח כְּנוֹן שְׁנַת	1
	אַחְבֵּר לְשֶׁמֶשׁ בֵּר לְשֶׁמֶשׁ	2
	בֵּר תִּימָא מִן מְעֵרְתָּא	3
	דֵּה לְבוּנָא בֵּר בּוֹלְחָא	4
	בֵּר בּוּנָא בֵּר יִקְרֹר	5
	אַחְבֵּרְתָּה מִן אַנְסֹדְרָא מְקַבְלָא	6
	גְּמַחִין תְּמַנְיָא מִן יַמִּינֵךְ	7
	אַרְבַּעַא וּמִן סַמְלֵךְ אַרְבַּעַא	8

The owner of the cave (מְעֵרְתָּא) is Lišmeš bar Lišmeš bar Taimê. The name (cp. Palm. לשְׁמֵשׁ) means "belonging to Šemeš," and after the Gr. *Λισαμσου* [gen.] should, perhaps, be pronounced Lišamš. A Phoen. analogy to this form is found in *λεασταρτου* [gen.], Josephus, *c. Ap.* i, 18 (122).

In the former inscription, a portion of the מְעֵרְתָּא is given to כְּרִי (or כְּדִי) bar Zabd'atê bar 'Atê-'Aḳab consisting of the ἐξέδρα and the six graves behind it (בְּתֵרָה) as far as the cupola (or arch) opposite. In the latter, Bōnnê bar Bôlhâ bar Bōnnê bar Yaḳrûr ("toad"!.) receives of the ἐξέδρα opposite, eight graves, four on the right and four on the left.* In גְּמַחִין or גּוּמָהָא (in Nab. גּוּחָא) is to be recognized the Ass. *kimahhu* "grave." כְּפִתָּא (כְּפִתָּא), arched niche or cupola is found again in the Palm. inscription from Tayibeh (*Zeit. d. Morgenl. Gesell.*, xv, 615 f.) *καμάραν* . . *καὶ τὴν κλίνην*, and in Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 70, *עֲלֵמִיָּא דִּי בִנְכַתָּא* *αἱ ἐν τῇ ψαλίῳ εἰκόνες*. The niche is made for holding the statues of the deceased or contains the couch (עֲרִשָּׂא) upon which is placed the dead body.†

* In l. 6 is taken by Nöldeke to be 1st sing. perf. with suff. of אַחְבֵּר "to give a share of, to make a companion of." Halévy, preferably, treats it as a noun with suffix : "his share." It is possibly a slip for אַחְבֵּר (repeated from l. 2) לָהּ. A similar mistake was found to recur in No. 5, l. 4 (תָּה for לָהּ), see above, p. 70.

† Similarly the 'couch' or 'sarcophagus' of Og king of Bashan is designated עֲרִשָּׂא in Deut. iii, 11.

- 1 בת עלמא דנה עבד מתני בר נורבל בר מלכו
 2 בר תימצא על נורבל אבוהי ועל נבי אמה ליקרהון
 3 וליקר בנוהי די עלמא עלמא אלן די מתני בר
 4 נורבל בר מלכו בר תימצא בר מתני בר בונא בר
 5 מתני די מתקרה מהוי ודי נורבל אבוהי ודי
 6 נבי אמה בירח אב שנת 405 .

"This 'everlasting home' was made by Mattēnai son of Nûrbêl, son of Malku (2) son of Taimṣâ for Nûrbêl his father, and for N . . . his mother, in honour of them (3) and in honour of his sons for ever. These are the statues of etc. . . Mattēnai who is called Mehwe (?), and of Nûrbêl his father, and of (6) N . . . his mother. In the month Ab, year 405 (April 94 A.D.)."

The frequently occurring **בת עלמא** is well known from the Old Testament (Eccles. xii, 5), and Phoen. (C.I.S. i, 124), etc. The meaning of **תימצא** (also in Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 33^b) is not certain. Prof. Müller suggests **תימ** + **מצא**. On the analogy of **תימעמד** (Gr. *θαιμοαμεδος*, Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 124; cp., perhaps, the Sabaeen **אלעמד**), and **תימרצו** (*ib.*, 6, 33^b), we should probably interpret "servant of **צא**" a deity whose name we find again in **אמתצא** (if correct, *ib.*, 51), "handmaid of Ṣâ," and in a slightly different form in **עבדצו** (*ib.*, 117). The identification with **שא** in **אלהשא**, **אמרשא** (and Heb. **בַּעֲשָׂא**?) is open to question. For **נבי** (l. 2) the reading **נסי** seems preferable, **ס** has precisely the same form as in **סרי** (No. 42 above), and we then have a name which is to be connected, no doubt, with the masc. **נסא**,* and **נשא** (Vogüé, 51, 61). **יקרהון** is written defectively, l. 2, cp. **בניהון** (Vogüé, 34¹), and **בניהון** (*ib.*, 67²). The occurrence of **די מתקרה** (cp. *ib.*, 34, but **די מתקרא** *ib.*, 17²) shows that in the case of compound names the second appears to be a kind of surname or nickname, as was pointed out long ago by Prof. Wright in this

* Euting, *Sitz.-ber.*, Berlin, April 22nd, 1887, pp. 407 ff. (*Palm. inscr.* No. 42). Cp. also in the Mishna, Dalman, *Gramm. d. Jüd.-paläst. Aram.*, p. 143, n. 6; and **νισα**, **νιση**, Waddington, 2578, 2589.

Journal (see *Transactions*, Vol. VII, I, p. 2, 1880). In the present example the second name מְהָרִי is unknown.*

46.

- | | |
|--|----|
| מֵעֶרְתָּא דֵּה דִּי בֵּת עֶלְמָא עֶבֶד | 1 |
| סְחִיאל בֵּר עֶסְתוֹרְגָּא בֵּר עוֹץ | 2 |
| בֵּר לִשְׁמֵשׁ בֵּר לִשְׁמֵשׁ לֵה שְׁקֻמָּ | 3 |
| תִּרְתֵּן חֲדָא עַל יִמִּינָא כְּדִי אַנְתָּ | 4 |
| עֶלְל פֶּא חֲדָתָא מִקְבֵּלָא | 5 |
| וּבִידָא בֵּר מַעַן בֵּר בּוֹלְנוֹרְעָתָהּ | 6 |
| שְׁקֻמָּא כְּדִי אַנְתָּ עֶלְל עַל שְׁמֵלָא | 7 |
| | |
| אַנְסִדְרָא דְנָה מִקְבֵּלָא דִּי | 8 |
| מֵעֶרְתָּא דִּי מִקְבֵּל בְּבֵא חֶפֶר | 9 |
| וּחֲבֵת שׁוּעַן בֵּר תִּימָא בֵּר | 10 |
| אַבְגֵּר לֵה וּלְבִנְוֵהִי וּלְבִנְוֵי | 11 |
| בְּנוֹהִיָּה דִּי רַחֲמַת לֵה שְׁגֵל | 12 |
| בֵּרֵת לִשְׁמֵשׁ בֵּר עֶשְׁתוֹרְגָּא בֵּר | 13 |
| סְחִיאל בִּירַח אֲדֵר שְׁנַת חֲמֵשׁ | 14 |
| מֵאָה וָאַרְבַּע | 15 |

סְחִיאל (l. 2) recurs in Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 99, where, however, Mordtmann prefers יְחִיאל. Lidzbarski (*op. cit.*) gives both סְחִיאל (p. 502^b) and פְּצִיאל (p. 479). The first character has almost precisely the same form as the ס in נְסִי (43²), and סְרִי (42⁴). The confusion of ח and צ is particularly easy in the Palmyrene inscriptions, and those from Karyâten are no exception to the rule, thus for עוֹץ (l. 2) an alternative reading is עוֹת, which Lidzbarski accepts, and in l. 10 for Müller's חֲבֵת the same scholar acutely reads צִבֵּת (see below). Our only unambiguous example is צִלְמִיָּא in 43³, and here the form of the צ is so decisive, and differs so markedly from the צ in תִּימְצָא (43, ll. 2, 4), which in its turn can

* Unless perhaps we read הַפְּתִיָּה (for הַפְּתִיָּה) in 1 Chronicles xi, 46. The list of David's heroes includes other trans-Jordanic names, cp. *z.* 46^b.

scarcely be distinguished from the ה in ירה (l. 6), that the question actually arises whether the familiar תימצא is not to be read תימחה.*

עשתורגא (for which עשתורגא, l. 13) is new. The first part is already found in Vogüé, *op. cit.* 4, etc. (Gr. ασθωρον [gen.]), and in the Phoen. עברעשתור (*Academy*, Jan. 18th, 1896, p. 59). For גא cp. בעלתגא in the *Transactions* of this Society for 1880, Vol. VII, p. 3, also אלגא in עבדאלגא (Nab.), אמתאלגא (Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen*, p. 51), and Phoen. עבדגא. The meaning is perhaps "Astor is glorious" (see Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 75). The last word in l. 2 seems to be עויד, cp. Nab. עוידא, C.I.S. ii, 190, and Syr. عوید (Cureton, *Spicilegium*, i, 8). The conjectural ת (in עות) seems improbable when compared with the form that letter bears elsewhere in this inscription. For שקמא and שקמן "sycomore trees" (Müller) שקקא are now read,† and explained after تاق, مسمو to refer to a "passage" or "road" (cp. Ass. suḫāku). It may be conjectured that we should read שמקא from the Ass. simāku "sanctuary" (see Delitzsch, *Ass. Handwörterbuch*), a kind of *aedicula*. The reading is not difficult, since מ and ק can scarcely be distinguished from one another (cp. מקבל, l. 9), and the interchange of ש (ש) and ס is not rare in Palmyrene (cp. שמלא, l. 7, with סמלא, p. 74, l. 12 above, and עשתורגא, עשתורגא in this inscription). The more correct form would be סמכא,‡ which is actually found in the Nabataean inscription from Petra in the difficult גניא וגנת סמכא, where ג' may perhaps be explained from the Syr. ܓܢܬܐ (e.g., Is. i, 29, Pesh.) "temples." Sanctuaries in connection with tombs are not unknown in the East.

In l. 5 we have to read פאחרתא "and the other (sanctuary)," the use of פ in Palmyrene (found in Nab., and the Zenjirli inscriptions) is noteworthy. L. 6 is syntactically difficult, ובידא is either the continuation of להשמע ... סהיאל (ll. 2, 3), or we

* On the analogy of אמתחא (Mordtmann, *Neue Beiträge z. Kunde Palmyra's*, No. 3), perhaps "servant of Hâ (?)."

† See Clermont-Ganneau, *Comptes Rendus, Acad. d'Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, July—August, 1898, pp. 558 ff.

‡ For the interchange of כ and ק cp. כרזי, C.I.S. ii, 141, and קרין in Dan. iii, 8; כינא in the Zenjirli inscription of Bar-Rekub and Bibl. Aram. קיט, קברא; and possibly כפרא (Nab.) from קברא.

must read לזבירא (or 'ולו). מען, which occurs here for the first time, may be compared with the Palm. names מעני, מענו. בולנורעתה perhaps stands for רעתה בולנור, for 'ב ("Bol is a light"), cp. נורבל in No. 43, and for רעתה see Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.*, p. 120, no. 2.

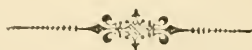
The reading הבת, in l. 10 seems to admit of no explanation. Lidzbarski's צבת "to adorn," is supported by תצבית in Vogüé, *op. cit.*, 11, 14, etc. I venture to read חבץ (= חצב, חצ) "to hew, excavate," as being more suitable after the preceding חפר "to dig." The anomalous form ולבובנוהי should probably be corrected to ולבניבנוהי, the form which occurs in Vogüé, *ib.*, 31, etc. (but בנאבנוהי *ib.*, 21, etc.). One has only to note the form of the first י in ימינא (l. 4) to realize the slight nature of the correction. The meaning of l. 12 is obscure. For הדרי* Clermont-Ganneau suggests הכי; Lidzbarski conjectures מדי, and explains רחמת as a denominative "to bear." He points out that דחקת also, which is a possible alternative reading, has the same meaning in Arabic (دحقت).

The inscription may therefore be translated as follows:—

(1) "This cave of the everlasting home was made by (2) Seḥî-el, son of 'Astôr-gâ' (-gê?), son of 'Awaïda (Gr. αου[ε]ῖδος), (3) son of Lišmeš, son of Lišmeš. To him are the two sanctuaries (?), (4) one upon the right as thou (5) enterest, and the other opposite. (6) To Zebeïda, son of Ma'an, son of Bôl-nûr Ra'eta (belongs) (7) the sanctuary (?) as thou enterest upon the left.

(8) This ἔξέεπα, opposite the (9) cave that is before the gate, was dug (10) and hewn out by Šau'ân son of Taimâ, son of (11) Abgar for himself, and for his sons, and for his sons' (12) sons [which?] Š-g-l (13) daughter of Lišmêš, son of 'Astôr-gâ,' son of (14) Seḥî-êl [bore to him?]. In the month Adar, year five (15) hundred and four (March, 193 A.D.).

* The final ה must, it would appear, belong to די. It need hardly be mentioned that no marks of word-division are employed in this inscription.



NOTES.

Mr. Nash requests me to publish the following note, and at the same time to express his thanks to Mr. Walker.—W. H. R.

THE EDWARDS' LIBRARY,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, W.C.,
December 8th, 1898.

DEAR SIR,

As Professor Petrie is in Egypt, and will therefore not see the last number of the *Proceedings* in time to reply to a remark made by Mr. Walter Nash in his paper, I hope you will allow me a small space in which to reply.

Mr. Nash states that he is unable to find an analysis given by Dr. Petrie of fatty matter contained in a jar found amongst "New Race" remains. It occurs in "Naqada and Ballas," page 39, and is as follows:—

	Per cent.
Water, volatile at 212° F.	0·43
Mineral matter left on ignition, consisting principally of carbonate and phosphate of lime ...	1·08
Dark resinous matter, insoluble in light naphtha; bulk of it soluble in alcohol, the solution neutralising alkalies	9·60
Fatty matter (by difference)	88·89

Very truly yours

J. HERBERT WALKER.

Adar has been repeatedly asserted to be unknown as a divine name. Names like 𐤀𐤃𐤓 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 , 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 , 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 , 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 , 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤀 , which may be read Adar-ai, Adar-gabri, Adar-hâmu, Adar-ili, Adar-ḫamu, Adar-ilai, at least shake one's faith in this assertion.

*Sartu** in Assyrian contracts means 'a fine imposed as penalty

* Cf. the Talmudic שער = mensura, aestimatio, taxatio, pretium rei aestimatum vel transactum. The *sartennu* was the judge who imposed the *sartu*.

for wrong done'; what we mean by 'damages'; 'what was paid to recoup an injured person for his injury'; 'compensation'; 'estimated value of a loss.' So the phrase *šibtu bennu ana me ûmê sartu ana kal šanâti* means 'the profit and service of a hundred days shall be the composition for every year'; *i.e.*, a slave, in place of full service, shall compound for the year's work by one hundred days' service.

C. H. W. J.



Scarabs of Aahmes, wife of Thothmes I and mother of Hat Shepsut, are rarely met with. Professor Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, Vol. II) refers to two known examples only, one in the Louvre Museum, and one in the British Museum. It may therefore be as well to record the existence of a third, which belongs to my friend, Mr. C. F. Cole. It is made of green glazed steatite. The annexed photograph of the inscription on the base of the scarab is one half larger than the original.

WALTER L. NASH.

I am indebted to Mr. Offord for the loan of the photograph of the very fine portrait statue, now preserved in the Gizeh Museum, from which the annexed plate has been taken. The original is smaller than life size.—W. H. R.

I publish the following letter from Dr. Hayes Ward with pleasure, and can only regret that the article he refers to is so little known, though I am pleased to find that we are in general agreement about the value of the Hamath stones. If he would be kind enough to place a copy of his article in the Library of the Society, it would be read by myself and others with pleasure.—W. H. R.

W. H. RYLANDS, ESQ.

Jan. 7, 1899.

DEAR SIR,

I notice in the November number of the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology an article by yourself on "Hittite Inscriptions," with a plate. I am sure that it has quite escaped



PORTRAIT STATUE OF PSAMMETIC-NEITH.
XXVIth Dynasty. From Memphis.

your memory that your arrangement of the parallel Hamath texts is precisely the same as was published by me many years ago. In the second "Statement of the American Palestine Exploration Society," published in 1873, I gave, in a series of five elaborate plates, the first critical copies given to the world of the four Hamath inscriptions. Nothing had ever before been published except copies of ink impressions of the stones taken in the rudest manner by natives. One plate was given to each of the four stones, while a fifth put the inscriptions in parallel lines, disturbing the *boustrophedon* arrangement, so as to show the parallelism of the inscriptions, the divisions of words, apparently, and the duplicated portions in the longest of the inscriptions. I also gave a list of the characters. In the accompanying article I was the first to prove the *boustrophedon* manner of writing, and made such suggestions as might be expected in an essay which first introduced these inscriptions to the learned world, with accurate copies made from admirable squeezes and casts obtained by Prof. John A. Paine. They had been to some extent published, from imperfect copies, by Mr. Heath and others.

Three years later, in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology for 1876, Professor Sayce, in the article which first introduced these inscriptions to the English and European world, published my list of characters, giving my article full credit, compared them more fully than I had done with the newly discovered Cypriote syllabary, and connected Hamath with Hittite history. I think Professor Sayce is the only Hittite scholar that has ever seen my article, as I do not remember to have seen any other credit given to my pioneer work in any treatise by English or Continental students. I therefore am not surprised that you were unaware that a plate like yours was published by me twenty-five years ago, with a view to bringing out precisely the same points.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

[It appears to me that it is only right that the above statement should appear in your *Proceedings*.]



31, LANSDOWNE ROAD,
CLAPHAM ROAD, S.W.,
Feb. 16, 1899.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The accompanying sketch is of an Egyptian bronze mummy case for a fish, which I think is somewhat unusual. The fish was inside, but before this fact was ascertained it had unfortunately been begun to be cleaned, so that only a few of the bones and pieces of the mummy cloth were preserved. These bones I submitted to Mr. George A. Boulenger, F.R.S., of the Natural History Museum, who very kindly took a considerable amount of trouble about them, carefully sorting all bones from the mummy cloth and copper oxides, with the result that he found quite enough to identify the fish as a very small specimen of the *Latus Niloticus*, a kind of perch which frequently grows to a very large size (as much as six feet long I believe). The model is a very fairly accurate copy of the fish; the only thing that is much exaggerated is the size of the scales, but that we may put down to artist licence. Bronze models of fish are not common, and I think as a rule are *only* models, and not mummy cases as this one is; therefore I thought that this might be of sufficient interest to make a note of. Sir G. Wilkinson says that *Latus* was the sacred fish of Latopolis (Esneh), on the authority of Strabo, but doubts if it was the *Latus* as now known. He suggests it was the "Raad," or electric fish of the Nile; but as *Latus Niloticus* have been found mummified, and no specimen, as far as I know, of the Electric fish, I think his suggestion is probably wrong.

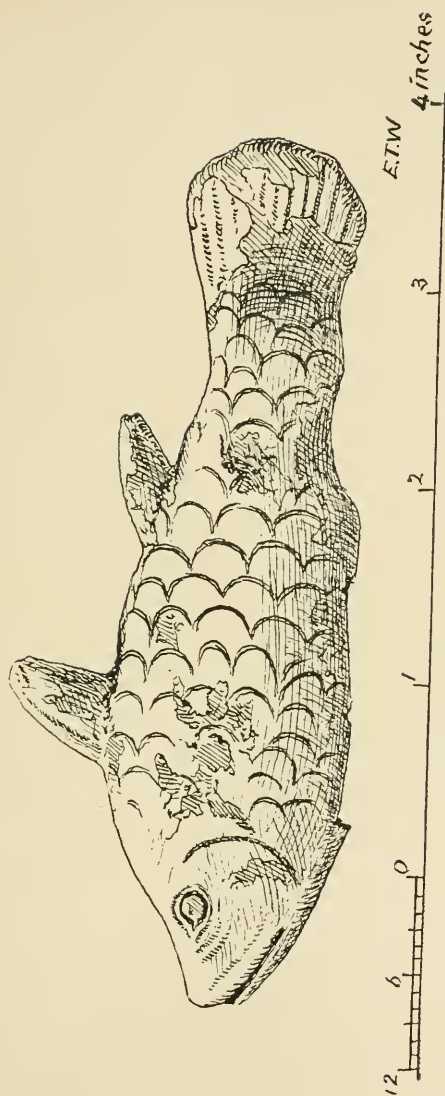
Believe me,

Yours very truly,

E. TOWRY WHYTE.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 7th March, 1899, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Rev. C. J. BALL, M.A.: "Babylonian Analogies for the Egyptian Alphabet."



EGYPTIAN BRONZE MUMMY CASE FOR A FISH.

NOTICE.

The Index to Proceedings, Volumes XI to XX, is now ready, price 5s.

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Assistant in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. in the British Museum ; formerly Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
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OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XXI. TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

Third Meeting, March 7th, 1899.

APRIL. NO MEETING.

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1899.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions and Proceedings still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION, 1899.

Third Meeting, 7th March, 1899.

F. D. MOCATTA, ESQ., F.S.A., ETC., VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From Robert Bagster, Esq. :—Records of the Past. Volumes I to VI. Second Series. With Illustrations. 8vo. London. 1888–1892.

From the Author :—Prof. Raoul Laforgue. Un Portrait de Jésus. Retrouve à Montauban. 8vo. Montauban. 1898.

Bulletin Arch. de Tarn-et-Garonne.

[No. CLX.]

From the Author :—Rev. P. A. C. de Cara, S.J. Gli Hethei-Pelasgi in Italia o gl' Itali della storia. Illirii-Veneti-Coni. *Civ. Cattolica*. 8vo. Feb., 1899.

From the Author :—Dr. Ismar J. Peritz. Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult. *Journ. of Biblical Literature*. Part II. 8vo. 1898.

From the Author :—Prof. C. P. Tiele. Elements of the Science of Religion. Vol. II. Ontological. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1899.

From the Author :—Prof. W. Hayes Ward. Notes on Oriental Antiquities. I. The Horse in Ancient Babylonia. II. Nehushtan. III. A Hittite Cylinder Seal. *Arch. Institute of America*. Vol. II. 1898.

From Ch. Clermont-Ganneau :—Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale. Tome III. 8vo. Paris. 1899.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 2nd May, 1899 :—

Miss J. Bertha Porter, 16, Russell Square, W.C.
Henry R. Howat, 99, Milbrae Road, Langside.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting held on the 7th Feb., 1899 :—

Rev. J. P. H. E'sser, Alsdorf, bei Aachen.
Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm R. Haig, Rossweide, Davos Platz, Switzerland.
David Basil Hewitt, Oakleigh, Northwich, Cheshire.

A Paper was read by the Rev. C. J. Ball, entitled "The Babylonian Analogies for the Egyptian Alphabet."

Remarks were added by Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. Jos. Offord, Mr. F. W. Read, Mr. E. J. Pilcher, the Rev. C. J. Ball, and the Chairman.

According to Rule XXXIX, no Meeting can be held on the first Tuesday in April (being in Easter Week).

It having been represented to the Council that it would be to the convenience of many of the Members if the Monthly Meetings were held at an earlier hour, the Council have unanimously decided to make the experiment.

The remaining Meetings during the present year, *i.e.*, on May 2nd, June 6th, November 7th, and December 5th, will therefore be held at half-past four in the afternoon in the Rooms of the Society as before.



NOTE BY THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

On Wednesday, 12th October, 1898, the Bishop of Salisbury, accompanied by a number of English clergy, called by appointment upon the Coptic Patriarch Kyrillos at Cairo, and had a very courteous and honourable reception. The Bishop presented a copy of the English service which was to be used in the following week at the consecration of St. George's Church at Jerusalem, and asked the Patriarch whether it would be possible to procure a copy of the service in use in Egypt. The Patriarch promised to look into his library and to try and find a copy. The MS. here described was given by him next day to the charge Mr. A. C. Headlam, Secretary of the Eastern Church Association, for the use of the Bishop, on the understanding that, if it were possible, he would print it in England, and allow a certain number of copies to be given in return to the Coptic Church.

The Bishop is very grateful to the Editor of the *Coptic Version of the New Testament (Four Gospels)*, Oxford, 1898) for his careful description of the manuscript and summary of its contents. It has been found that very similar forms of consecration were printed by Raphael Tuki in the first and second volumes of his Coptic Pontifical, published at Rome in 1761-2. There are certain variations, however; and, of course, the Roman interpolations in Tuki's copy are not found in the MS. The two sources will in other respects supplement one another, if an edition can be produced, as is to be desired. The Bishop trusts that friends of the Coptic Church, and others interested in Liturgical studies, will aid him in this effort to bring into notice a rite which has much to commend it, from its simplicity and its very scriptural character. Far the largest part of it consists of Psalms and Lessons from Scripture. The rite has indeed a number of wearisome repetitions, which might perhaps be reduced in length in any form published for modern usage, es-

pecially as there is some evidence that it consists of two separate and alternative services accumulated. It differs both from the old local Roman and the existing Greek rite* in having no ceremonies connected with the burial of relics. In its use of water and ointment as the principal symbolic elements of the rite, it agrees with the Western non-Roman or late Roman forms. On the other hand, the *prayers and lections* of all four types (early Roman, Western, Greek and Coptic) are apparently almost, if not quite, independent, generally uniting only in such points as are inevitable from the similarity of the fundamental ideas. There appears to be little doubt that the Coptic rite is the earliest that has come down to us, but that it is later than the fourth century, since there seems no reference to the case of transformation of heathen temples into churches, as at Medinet Habou in Thebes; on the contrary, the prayers and rubrics several times imply that the church to be consecrated is new and has been built for Christian worship. There is in one place a prayer that martyrs may be buried in it; but this seems hardly to be a reference to fear of imminent persecution. It must therefore be dated in a quiet period. It may perhaps be permissible to suggest the reign of the Emperor Anastarius, A.D. 491-518, as a likely one.

It may be mentioned that in the recently edited prayer-book ascribed to Sarapion, Bishop of Theronis, the contemporary of the great Athanasius, there is no form for consecration of churches,† nor is there any in the Apostolic Constitutions or the ‘Canons of Hippolytus,’ both of which had large influence in Egypt.

* The seventh Canon of the Second Council of Nicola orders all churches to be consecrated with relics. The existing Greek services must be later than this date.

† *Texte und Untersuchungen, Neu Folge*, II 3 b, 1899.

THE CONSECRATION OF A CHURCH, ALTAR AND TANK ACCORDING TO THE RITUAL OF THE COPTIC-JACOBITE CHURCH.

(DESCRIBED FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY,
PRESENTED TO THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY BY THE PATRIARCH
OF ALEXANDRIA.)

The manuscript, bound in native leather, is entitled in Arabic, 'The consecration of the new church and the altar, Coptic and Arabic together.'

The measurement of the page is 23·7 cm. × 16·5 cm., and of both columns of the text, not including capitals, 18·4 cm. × 11·8 cm. Twenty lines in the page. The arrangement of quires is by quinions, and they are signed with ΚΕ, ΟΘΕ, ϣϥ, Θϥ, Ιϣ, Χϣ, ΝΙΚΑ. Large capitals are either black-reddened, or yellow, white, black and red, or yellow alone, with occasionally a bird for capital A. Small capitals, black-reddened. A cross is drawn on the sixth page; a geometrical ornament occurs before the altar service, which has an arched headpiece. The common arabesque ornament, with flowers and head of a bird and trailing stem, is frequent, the usual colour being yellow, and the style of drawing similar to the art of Brit. Mus. Or., 1001. There are 259 leaves.

The original foliation in uncials appears on the verso page, the first of which extant is numbered ρ. Fol. 4, not numbered, has been restored, and is of the same paper as the four leaves at the beginning and end, marked with crown, star and crescents, and the name Gervino. Besides these restored leaves, it should be noticed that the book has been cut and patched when it was re-bound.

The consecration of the church occupies 201 leaves. Foll. CE^b CI^a contain respectively the English and Arabic form of presentation of the Book by the Patriarch Cyril to the Bishop of Salisbury. The altar service extends over thirty-five leaves.

It remains to notice the long colophon with which the manuscript concludes. After the usual invocation of God in three Persons, the name of John, 80th Patriarch of Alexandria, is given, with many epithets of praise, as the patron of the book. Prayer for him is followed by a request for the remembrance of the copyist, a monk of the monastery of Pitetroas. The statement further sets forth that the book was finished in the said monastery on the 5th of Athor in 1024 of the martyrs (A.D. 1307), after the churches had been shut seven years and the Christians had had to wear blue turbans, and ends with prayer for mercy and re-opening of the churches and an ascription of glory.

The monastery here mentioned, and in the Arabic called *Ṭrua*, is probably the building recorded by Abu Ṣaliḥ, and known as the Monastery of the Potter, and dedicated to St. Theodore in the district of *Ṭurâ*.* This place is famous for nummulitic limestone quarries, named by the ancient Egyptians *Royu* or *T-royu*, which the Greeks corrupted into *Troja*. According to Strabo, the name was derived from a settlement of Trojans who followed Menelaus to Egypt.† The closing of churches and disgrace of blue turbans are related by Makrizi, who however calls the monastery of *Ṭurâ* the monastery of Abu Jurj, which Abu Ṣaliḥ speaks of as being in the district of *Ṭurâ*, together with another monastery, *Shahran*, unidentified at the present day.

After the first prayer in the manuscript and before the Psalms is an Arabic note recording the sale of the book by Yuhanna,‡ son of Abu'lmena, brother of the Patriarch Yunas. The buyer is not mentioned, but a subsequent gift or legacy is also stated. Then at the end of the column, before the Coptic colophon, is another Arabic note, which speaks of the finishing of the book, and its being in the possession of Faraj Allah, a minister of the church of Muallakah in Miṣr or old Cairo, who sold it to the above-mentioned Yuhanna.

The MS., though retaining the original third folio on which is preserved the large ornamented cross as frontispiece, showing that the text began upon the fourth, has lost this fourth leaf; and a restorer of the seventeenth century supplied, on Italian paper, with the familiar three-crescent watermark, the missing two pages.

* *Anecdota Oxon.*, Semitic Series, VII, fol. 47b.

† Bädcker's *Guide Book*, pp. 146-7.

‡ Writer of Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 425.

After giving the title as 'The Consecration of the New Church,' a rubric directs the bishop, clergy and people to assemble early in the morning within the church, where the bishop takes his seat upon a throne placed for the occasion, presumably in the nave* outside the haikal or sanctuary. Seven large vessels are to be filled with water into which are put fragrant herbs. Seven lamps on seven stands, and beside them a few candles, complete the preparations.

The bishop then, wearing his vestments, comes forward and offers incense with the usual prayer of thanksgiving. He returns to his seat, and the clergy† begin reading the lections, after the bishop has pronounced the prayer of 'a new foundation.' This prayer is addressed to God as the Creator of the world and the inspirer of natural wisdom, and in particular the art of building places for protection against weather, then mentioning 'Berseleël' as maker of the tabernacle, prays for the strengthening and purification of the present church to holy uses, for the averting of the envy, temptation and power of Satan and other enemies, for acceptance of the builders' work, blessing upon them and through them on others, for worthiness to perform the worship which the self-sufficing Deity yet requires, alluding further to blessing in general, ends with the usual doxology.

Whether the Psalms which next occur in the manuscript are included in the lections or form an introduction to them cannot be determined. In the very similar rite published by Tuki in 1761, Ps. li follows the prayer, and after the psalm comes a simple direction 'then they say,' referring to the same series of psalms, viz. cxxii-cl. which are written in our book, including the last additional psalm found in the Septuagint version.

Upon the 44th original folio the full lections begin, having an ornamental heading and title, but without any special direction as to the reader or manner of reading except in one case mentioned below.

Genesis i-ii : 3.

„ xxviii : 10-22.

Exodus xxv : 1-40.

„ xxx : 17—xxxi : 11.

„ xxxix : 43—xl : 33.

„ xl : 33-38.

Numbers iv : 1-16.

„ iv : 17-32.

* In the midst, Tuki. † The ancient writing begins at this point.

Joshua iii : 7—iv : 9.
 2 Samuel vi : 1—20.
 1 Chronicles xv : 2—xvi : 7.
 1 Chronicles xxviii : 2—xxix : 22.
 2 Chronicles iii—vi : 11.
 1 Kings viii : 1—21.*
 2 Chronicles vi : 12—vii : 15.†
 1 Kings viii : 22—ix : 3.
 Isaiah lix : 20—lx : 21.
 Ezekiel i : 3—20.
 „ xl : 1—19.
 „ xlii : 15—xliv : 5.
 Revelations xxi : 1—27.

A contemporary Arabic rubric orders the people to say Psalm cxxii, after which the bishop rises and offers incense, while the clergy chant the following antiphons with refrains indicated by the word *Lexis*,‡ which applies to the antiphon as distinguished from the refrain.

1. Holiness, O Lord, becometh thy house for ever.
2. Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is king.
3. Shine, shine, O Church of God, for thy light hath come, and the glory of the Lord hath risen upon thee. This is the house which is built upon the heavens.
4. This is the house which the Holy Spirit built, and may He grant victory to our kings and fathers, peaceful government and His mercy.
5. Holiness, O Lord, becometh thy house for ever.

Next comes a rubric mentioning the prayer of the *Apostle*, which precedes the lection Hebrews vii : 26—ix : 1, but is not given. After this lection follows the *Catholicon*, St. James ii : 14—23, and again without any rubric appears the ‘Praxis,’ Acts vii : 44—55.

Then a rubric directs to be said the prayer of the *Gospel* which prayer is not written, but first Ps. lxxviii : 26 and then lxxviii : 11, 12 form two antiphons separated by a ‘Lexis,’ which implies a refrain of Alleluia or the like.

* A contemporary Arabic rubric directs the bishop to read this lection.

† A later Arabic rubric says that this lection is to be read by the Patriarch ; Tuki, however, says the bishop, and that he is to stand before the altar.

‡ Brightman, *Liturgies*, Vol. I, p. 599.

Four Gospels are next written without any direction except the heading of the evangelist's name.

Matt. xvii : 1-5 . . . pleased.

Mark ix : 2-7 . . . pleased.

Luke ix : 28-36.

John x : 22-42.

In the ordinary course of the Liturgy of St. Mark or St. Cyril, the Gospel is followed by the three prayers, and accordingly there is a rubric here prescribing the prayers of compassion or consolation, of peace, *i.e.* of the Church, of the Patriarch, of the safety, *i.e.* of the world, of the congregation, and the Faith, implying the recitation of the Creed in the usual place. The bishop is further ordered to stand and offer incense with the proper prayer, and afterwards he says another prayer in which, addressing God, as putting into the ministry and searcher of the hearts, he implores forgiveness and grace and sufficiency to draw nigh and minister. 'Receive,' he says, 'this consecration and complete it with thy grace that we may enjoy (ἀπολαύειν) thy heavenly gifts,' and ends with the usual doxology. Then follows another prayer which contains no special petition, but, after acknowledgment of God in various aspects as shepherd, etc., as source of grace, etc., declares that 'we wait for thy universal salvation, for Thou art supreme ruler and giver of authority to loose and bind, and Thou art the wisdom of thy ministers (ὄργανα) in the Church thy bride,' and ends with doxology.

A rubric next instructs the archdeacon to say a Litany (κίτησις) of seven petitions, to each of which the people respond 'Kyrie eleison.'

1. Invocation of God Almighty of our fathers.
2. Safety of the world and unity of churches.
3. Protection of the living and rest to the departed.
4. Relief from evils spiritual and temporal.
5. Preservation of the city and other cities and countries of the faithful.
6. Forgiveness, acceptance and mercy in general.
7. Descent of the Holy Spirit upon this new place.

Then the people say Kyrie eleison a hundred times, after which the bishop prays to God the Father and God the Word, referring to the Law and Prophets, Moses and the Tabernacle of the Old Testament, St. Peter and the Church of the New Testament, and appealing

to the lover of man and searcher of hearts and sanctifier of places and planner of salvation, asks for worthiness to offer spiritual service and praise. The doxology as usual.

Here the archdeacon begins another Litany of four longer petitions, with Kyrie eleison put after the first three.

1. Salvation and blessing of people, exaltation of Christendom by power of the Cross, blotting out transgression, reception of prayer.
2. Sending of the Holy Spirit to sanctify this place for prayer and sacrifice ; general petition for salvation and protection.
3. For Patriarch,* bishop, clergy and laity assembled.
4. By intercession of St. Mary, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, SS. John, Stephen, Mark and all saints.

Then the bishop prays to God the Creator, who has filled the earth with churches after the pattern of the church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven.

The deacon interposes *προσεύξασθε* and the bishop continues to pray for sanctification of the church, enumerating the various purposes and privileges which should belong to it.

The deacon again interposes his Greek word, and the bishop concludes the prayer with more special request for fulfilment of the promise of the Holy Spirit.

The archdeacon says in Greek, 'Let us beseech the Lord.'

The bishop exclaims 'Peace to all,' also in Greek, and begins a prayer which is called 'Despota.' God, who is described among other attributes as author of good works, is prayed to accept worship and to supply the same spirit as inspired 'Berseliël.'

The deacon interposes his word, and the bishop ends by asking for sanctification of 'the house of prayer and psalmody.'

The bishop then kneels before the Lord, and the archdeacon makes the people kneel with the familiar *κλίναμεν γονὺν* followed by *ἀναστῶμεν*. They say many times Kyrie eleison and other prayers of their own, and at length the bishop rises and with louder voice says, 'The grace of God which heals sickness, supplies deficiency, reconciles the separated and provides for all churches, may it choose and establish this place for a holy church of God most high, for fulfilment of priestly duties and the holy bloodless mystery as

* Tuki's version of this petition prays for the Pope, and after him for the Patriarch, having been published at Rome.

fragrant incense to the glory and honour of the life-giving Trinity. All here assembled join in our prayer to the Lord God with purity and fear and awe, that the grace of the Holy Spirit may descend upon us and this place.'

Then after more repetition of Kyrie eleison, the bishop again cries aloud and, without any long address, reiterates the Old Testament precedents and the practice of the Apostles, and prays more directly for the consecrating power of the Holy Spirit.

The consummation of the ceremony is now imminent and, as in the Liturgy of St. James before the Anaphora, the deacon calls out* *στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν ἐν λαβῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ καὶ κατανύξεως*, so here the archdeacon exclaims with similar Greek words, adding thereto *στῶμεν ἐκτενῶς*, and *ἡσυχία πάντες ἐξώμεθα εἰπώμεν πάντες κύριε ἐλέησον*. This form is translated into Coptic as far as possible, the poverty of the language requiring still some of the Greek words to be retained, and both Greek and Coptic are each translated into Arabic, as is usual throughout the book.

The bishop cries again, 'Yea, we beseech thee, Lord God, look on us thy unworthy servants. Hear and have mercy on us.'

The people respond in Greek, 'Have mercy on us, God the Father Almighty.'

Then the bishop pronounces the Epiklêsis, 'Lord have mercy on us, and let thy compassions prevent and strengthen us speedily. Send from thy high and holy place, from thine established dwelling, from thine incomprehensible bosom, the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit. Who by substance is the strong Life-giver, Who spake in the Law and Prophets, Who is in every place and filleth every place, working by his own authority. The simple in Nature, manifold in operation, fount of Divine grace, Who is of one substance with Thee and proceedeth from Thee, partaker of the throne of thy glorious kingdom with thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. Send Him down upon us also thy unworthy servants, and upon this place which has been built for Thee to the glory and honour of thy holy name, that He may sanctify it and consecrate it and transform it to—

a holy temple. Amen.†

a pure church

a house of salvation

* Brightman, *Liturgies*, Vol. I, p. 49.

† The people respond 'Amen' after each attribute of the church.

a house of pardon of sin
 a mercy-seat of the faithful
 an altar of heavenly things
 an assembly of angels
 a harbour of safety
 a holy tabernacle of the saints
 a dwelling of Thy Christ
 a conventicle of Cherubim
 a choir of Seraphim
 a resting-place of martyrs
 a work-room of heavenly grace
 a cleansing-place for sin
 a laver of iniquity
 a purifier of stained souls
 a healing-place of knowledge (ἡνῶσις)

a place of invitation to the adorned bridechamber and the heavenly marriage feast. That those who come to Thee may herein be called to receive new light by the bath of regeneration; and those who are astray in sin may come here to ask by Thee, our Master, forgiveness from those who worship thy name in it. Let it be for the offering of the reasonable sacrifice of thy holy mysteries, so that having received a portion with thy saints, Thou wilt shelter us (*lit.* them) under thy mighty hand and watch over us against all opposing powers, in order that in this and everything thy revered and all-holy Name may be glorified, blessed and exalted, Father and Son and Holy Spirit now and always and unto ages of ages.'

The clergy and people respond in Greek 'As was and is.'

The people say the Lord's Prayer.

The bishop responds 'Yea, Lord God.'

The archdeacon says in Greek 'Your heads.'

The bishop, 'Thou, O Lord, has bowed down.'

The archdeacon, in Greek, 'Attend with fear of God.'

The bishop, 'The absolution (of) the Only-begotten.'

Then the bishop consecrates the water with the Greek words, 'One Holy Father, one Holy Son, Holy Spirit,' adding in Coptic, 'Bless God in all his saints.'

A rubric directs the presbyters to carry the water-vessels in front of the bishop, and the remaining clergy bear the cross, candles, censers and ornamented Gospel, and the procession moves towards the middle eastern niche of the haikal or sanctuary with singing.

The bishop sprinkles this niche and the walls on either side of the building, pronouncing the words 'For holy consecration of the house of God.' This done, he takes the pot of holy ointment (*μύρον*) and begins by anointing the same middle east niche, making a cross with his thumb and saying, 'We consecrate this place for a catholic church of the Theotokos Maria, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.' And if it is an oratory he says, 'We consecrate this place for an oratory of the glorious martyr of Christ the holy Apa (Abba) N or M, in the name,' etc. Another form is given for a 'righteous man' or a virgin.

Then he signs with the ointment on either side and arch of the niche, and proceeds along the wall of the church, signing as he goes, and the clergy continue their chant. On reaching the western dome (*σκηνή*), *i.e.* of the narthex, he turns eastward again and signs every column on the south side, crossing next to the southern rank, he signs going westward the north side of every pillar. Then he passes back by the south wall, and eventually enters the sanctuary and goes round the walls until he comes to the synthronos,* which probably means the throne at the east end of the haikal, but the rubric at this point is difficult to understand. At each sign of the cross the bishop says in Greek, 'Blessed is the Lord God for ever and ever. Amen.'

Two hymns of different length are written at the end of the service, and one or the other is sung during the procession according as the chant of the day is *Échos Adam* or *Échos Batos*. In the second hymn one of the eight verses is, 'Murderers shall not rest in it but precious relics of victorious martyrs.' This is the only reference to relics which can be found in the service; once before the church is said to be a resting-place of martyrs.

In the foregoing description, no notice has been taken of sundry additional directions which have been written by a later hand in the margin. These Arabic rubrics often correspond to the rubrics printed by Tuki, particularly at the beginning of the service where anthems or hymns and prayers are ordered to be used between the lections. The anthems or hymns belong to the *Theotokia*, which hymn-book is by no means confined to the praise of the Virgin Mother of God, but combines therewith a large proportion of verses breathing a spirit of devotion to our Lord, and setting in true per-

* *Goar, Rituale*, p. 261.

spective His relation to His blessed Mother. She is praised always because of Him. The prayers which occur in these interposed devotions have no bearing upon the act of consecration, and Tuki prints most of them in the service for the holy ointment, though they have no particular reference to that function.

Before the lection from the Epistle to the Hebrews, the *Apostle*, one of these rubrics prescribes the saying of the Alleluia of Baptism, and further specifies the tune (بللى العا) for the recitation of the lection. Another requires the Trisagios to be said in the usual place before the Gospel, and the Patriarch is enjoined to read the Eulogia or Blessing before the Gospel. Between the Gospel of St. Mark and St. Luke, the cross is to be raised up, and after the last Gospel the usual dismissal is to take place. Then at the sprinkling of the church, the bishop is reminded to be energetic in the work, and to break the vessel at the place where the water of it is exhausted. Further on it is said, 'He shall not sign with the ointment until after the end of the Liturgy of the altar, when he shall sign the slab and altar tablets,' referring to the small flat piece of wood which fits into a shallow depression in the top of the altar, where the chalice stands during the service. A contemporary Arabic rubric directs the bishop to stay behind at the altar, and wash the altar-tablets and the altar, but there is no Coptic injunction of this kind.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE ALTAR.

The bishop, having consecrated the rest of the building, comes to the altar, and stands by it with the clergy around him. The side at which he stands is not mentioned, but if he was officiating at the altar in the Liturgy he would stand at the west side; if coming from the synthronos, at the east. His first act is to offer incense, with the usual prayer; after which he must say Psalm xxiii, specially described as 'by David before he was anointed'; then also Psalm xxiv. Tuki's rubric orders the people to say Psalms li, xxvii and xciii.

The archdeacon next begins a litany, with two groups of

petitions of general character, and one group of invocations of St. Mary, the two archangels and the saints. Tuki assigns this litany to the archiereus after the archdeacon has called to the congregation to stand for prayer.

Incense is again offered by the bishop, who then signs the altar without ointment, and the Psalms xxvi, xxvii and xciii are sung with refrain. Next comes Tuki's summons of the archdeacon, 'Stand well, stand in fear and trembling, with humble demeanour and soaring hearts pray God have mercy on us,' and the archdeacon is directed to respond Kyrie eleison to another litany presumably recited by the bishop:

1. Christ our God is addressed as Creator and restorer of man.
2. The Incarnate Word of the Father, who saves us by his Church.
3. God, builder of the Church upon the rock, who made it his Bride, established heavenly orders in it, transforms earth to heaven thereby—We pray Thee, number us with the incorporeal spirits, and hear us in thy compassions.
4. The First Begotten before the Worlds, of the Virgin and from the dead, for redemption of his own Church, and who raises us with Him to heaven.
5. Who gave a type of the New Dispensation in the bread and cup of Melchizedek.

Petitions 6–12 continue the reference to Old Testament history, mentioning the promise of Isaac, the ladder and pillar of Jacob, Moses with the Tabernacle and its various symbolical objects, Berzeliël, David and Solomon.

11 and 12 contain prayer for consecration of 'this place.'

13 relates specially to the Ark, and prays for consecration of "this house."

14 refers to the Church as given to the Apostles, and concludes thus: By the good pleasure of thy goodness we have completed this place for a Church of thy divine mysteries, that Thou mightest sanctify it for us and consecrate it. We pray Thee for its sake hear and have mercy on us.

15. Prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father upon the Apostles, to send Him on us and on this place to make it a holy

Church, place of salvation, place of pardon, conventicle of angels, harbour of safety, holy Tabernacle, mercy-seat, place of purification of souls that repent.

Tuki's print contains the above 15 petitions, but omits the remainder, the subsequent prayer, and three petitions of another litany.

16 contains prayer for archbishop and bishop.

17 for priests, deacons and people.

18. Invocations of St. Mary, the two archangels and saints.

The bishop then offers incense a third time, and makes a cross on the altar without ointment as before, and prays to the Lord God who made holy orders in the catholic Apostolic Church, whose altar on high abundantly atones, who appointed a tabernacle, and after the redeeming work of Christ established a spiritual altar for the bloodless sacrifice in the Church.

Here the deacon interposes *προσεύξαθε*, and the bishop continues to pray for the grace of the holy Spirit to be sent on 'this table' to make it an altar for the priestly work of the bloodless sacrifice; also for purification, healing, and all spiritual blessings Doxology.

The archdeacon again makes his summons 'to stand well and pray Lord have mercy,' and a third litany of three petitions follows:—

1. Christ who sitteth on the Cherubim and is glorified by the Seraphim.
2. He who is in the bosom of the Father, and was in the womb of the Virgin, incarnate, and of whose mother Jacob exclaimed: 'This is the house of God, this is the gate of heaven.'
3. Our Lord Jesus Christ, one with the Paraclete and the Father, by means of (lit. on account of) the Holy Spirit descend upon this altar. All who stand in this holy place pray the Lord our God to descend by saying Kyrie eleison.

Here occurs a contemporary Arabic note referring to another manuscript which omitted the previous prayer of the archdeacon. This would seem to account for the omission in Tuki's print, which now proceeds in company with our manuscript, to give a prayer of the archdeacon who implores our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent the Paraclete from the Father, to send Him; and he appeals to the influ-

ence of the Holy Spirit, and the power of the cross : also to the intercession of St. Mary, the archangels and saints, for the repulsion of the devil and heathen enemies. Then follow a Coptic rubric, 'If it is an oratory of any one* thou sayest,' and two very short prayers: (1) to our Lord, mentioning the crown of glory, and supplicating mercy; and (2) a prayer appropriate to the anniversary of the dedication.

After oft-repeated Kyrie eleison, the bishop again prays for acceptance of this cry for mercy, and after doxology begins a longer supplication, addressing the Lord God of our salvation, records the manifold display of love to man, instancing the establishment of churches, the archpriestly office as type of angelic ministry, liberation from vanity of matter and deceit of demons, entreats for worthiness to serve and additional mercy; then after referring to the work of the only-begotten Son in giving Himself a sacrifice for us, rising and ascending and sending the Paraclete, the work of the Holy Spirit is described: 'He fulfilled the first-fruits, being eye-witness who ministers the word according to the operation of the promise of the gifts. He raised up the Church, he established altars, He gave the baptism of regeneration, the priesthood, the law, the canon, and a perpetual sacrifice.'

The deacon interposes *προσεύξαθε*, and the bishop continues to pray for the consecration of this altar by the oil of the grace and mystery of the Holy Spirit, that it may ever give to us the banquet of the bloodless victim by means of the mystic anointing, and that we may stand at the throne of His kingdom offering the prayer for ourselves and the people, having tasted in faith and holiness the Body of the Lord given and the precious Blood shed for us.

The deacon *προσεύξαθε*, the bishop continues, and prays for sending the grace of the Holy Spirit to complete 'this Liturgia,' and make the table worthy to communicate the mysteries. Then comes a series of seven attributes of the altar, with cross at each and the people's amen: (1) holy, (2) haven of troubled souls, (3) place of guidance for thought and deed, (4) refuge from all sin, (5) liberation of consciences, (6) provision for the good of the city (lit. citizens), (7) perfecter of all righteousness. After doxology,

The deacon interposes *τοῦ κυρίου ἐκλήθωμεν*. Then the bishop prays to the Lord of nature and benefactor of man, who founded

* *φειλάμη*, i.e., *فيلان*.

churches, placed altars, commanded sacrifices to be offered, and again begs for the sending of the Holy Spirit to complete this 'mystery for the hope of faith, salvation, rest, and forgiveness.' Doxology. Then he takes the pot of ointment, and pours on the table three times in the form of a cross, saying each time Allêlouia, and also makes three crosses with his thumb and ointment, sealing it and saying, 'We consecrate this altar, which has been placed for the name of the Virgin or Saint N or M, by this holy ointment in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.' Then he anoints the whole table with his hand, saying Allêlouia and these words (λέξεις) of the Psalms, while the clergy respond after each lexis Allêlouia.

Psalm lxxxiv : 1-3 . . . her young.

3. Thy altars, 4, 6-8, 10 . . . thousand.

Psalm xliii : 4 . . . νεοτῆτί μου.

Psalm xxvi : 6-8. The third time he says in Greek, 'Glory to Father, Son and Holy Spirit, both now and ever and to the ages of the ages. Amen.'

After 'Peace to all,' in Greek, he proceeds to offer thanksgiving for the gift to the Apostles and righteous men, which was not taken away but mercifully continued to unworthy sinners, even answer to prayer.

The deacon, προσεῖξασθε. The bishop once more implores for the completion of the consecration, and worthiness to stand at the altar to offer the sacrifice, not for condemnation but advancement of church and people. After the doxology the bishop and clergy adore the altar, and the archdeacon cries : 'Pray for this house and supply of grace for this altar, that it may be a refuge for the penitent, haven of rest, for hearing of prayer, salvation for the living and rest for the departed, and let us all cry Kyrie eleison.'

The presbyters and deacons next stand at the altar, bearing the holy vessels ; they vest the altar and set up on it the Gospel and cross. Meanwhile the clergy chant, and afterwards the bishop again gives thanks, the deacon having made his summons, τοῦ κυρίου δεῖνωμεν. After a few words the deacon again interposes προσεῖξασθε and the bishop continues, 'We pray Thee make this place an abode of thy Holy Spirit, and make us live good lives, and abide in the company of those who have gone before us.'

After the Amen the archdeacon cries out in Greek, with Coptic translation, 'And for those who had part in preparing for this house,

and for all who have laboured upon it, earnestly praying that God, lover of man, would grant them eternal mansions in His kingdom.'

The bishop accordingly offers prayer for them; afterwards the Trisagios* is said, and the archdeacon says in Greek, 'Bow down your heads in fear of the Lord our God.' Then the bishop says 'a prayer of bowing down,' which is a supplication for acceptance and blessing.

The† bishop once more offers incense with its prayer, and moving round the altar, takes a clapper and strikes three times, whereupon the porters begin striking many clappers around outside the church. The bishop places the Eucharistic bread and wine on the altar, and goes out into the choir to begin the early morning service, the Psalm being xxvi: 8, followed by xxvi: 7, though another MS. appoints Psalm lxxxiv: 3 and 4. The Gospel is Luke xix, 1-10. Next‡ come the *three prayers* and the absolution; the bishop washes his hands, and, with a presbyter carrying the water and the ointment, goes to the Tank (ΚΟΛΥΜΕΔΗΤΡΑ), and then prays, mentioning the appearing of the Incarnate Saviour, deliverance from the devil, revelation of the Divinity, guidance to holiness which angels desired to see, entrance into the Kingdom by laver of regeneration, the baptism in the Jordan, 'Thou consecratedst the waters by going down into them, Thou brakest the heads of the dragons upon the waters, in order that we might struggle against sin, until we receive pardon and washing away of sin.' He concludes by praying that all who go down into this type of the River Jordan may merit pardon, and have their names written in the Book of Life. Doxology.

The bishop makes a cross with the ointment, and says, 'We consecrate this Tank upon the name of St. John the Baptist, in the name,' etc.

There is here some confusion in the MS., because a rubric directs Psalm xxvi: 8 and xxvi: 12 to be used, and mentions again the same Gospel as above. Probably the consecration of the Tank followed the Morning Service, and finally the liturgy began. The MS. ends with the Lections of the Liturgy, which are called 'The lections which are read in the Anaphora of the Consecration.'

* Tuki omits this.

† The rubric is abbreviated and confused by Tuki.

‡ Omitted by Tuki, who goes on to the Lections of Morning Service.

Hebrews ix : 2-10.

1 Peter ii : 1-12.

Acts ix : 31-42.

Psalm lxxv : 1 and 2.

Matthew xvi : 13-19.

There are a few later Arabic rubrics to be mentioned. At the end of the first rubric, 'Then he says *Al shahamât*, Our Father which art in heaven, and Psalm l.' One occurs at the third offering of incense, 'Then is said Ⲙⲉⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲗⲏ, and the prayer of incense which belongs to the Praxis.' The Coptic word 'Blessed' is probably the response* of the Praxis, sung by the choir during the prayer of the priest.

Again at the Alleluia of the anointing, the later Arabic says, 'To the tune of (the Alleluia of) the Baptism, and the people respond.'

Also after the direction to vest the altar, etc. 'Here he signs the altar and tablets with the holy ointment, and all the rest of the church, while the people sing the Song of the Three Children. the clergy shall hold bunches of silk (صلق), and sign with them before the bishop wherever he signs with the ointment.'

The two forms of service thus described, though separated by vacant pages in the manuscript, appear to belong to one order of ceremonial, and they may be regarded as representative of the class of dedication which did not require deposition of relics.† No mention of relics occurs, even when an oratory of a martyr is to be hallowed. Yet relics are possessed by every Coptic church at the present day, and the altars have a cavity opening eastward which suggests that the practice of placing relics therein was formerly universal,‡ though now they are 'enclosed in a sort of bolster covered with silk brocade, and kept in a locker beneath the picture of the patron saint.'

Duchesne, in his *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, remarks upon the resemblance between the consecration ceremonies and the baptismal rite. In the Coptic ceremonial, where washing or sprinkling and anointing are the only outward signs, this resemblance is a strong feature; and as regards the altar, a special connection between the two ceremonies is formed by the use of the word Alleluia, which word is also pronounced in the consecration of the altar according

* Brightman, p. 154. † Martene, *Ecl. Rit.*, Ed. Nov., 1788, II, p. 242.

‡ Butler: *Coptic Churches*, Vol. II, p. 13.

to the Greek rite.* One of the later Arabic rubrics in our manuscript directs that the Alleluia should be sung to the tune of Baptism.

In the form of the Coptic service we see to a certain extent the structure of the Liturgy, and the abundance of lections from the Old Testament may point to an early time when larger portions were read at the celebration of the Eucharist. The New Testament lections follow the order of the Liturgy, and the Gospels are preceded by verses of the Psalms and Alleluia. With regard to the use of four Gospels, it may be noticed that in the Pontifical of Narbonne, amongst the various things placed inside the altar with the relics is mentioned a paper containing the Ten Commandments and the four first chapters of the Gospels.†

There is probably a recitation of the creed, but no kiss of peace or *sursum corda*, yet three series of litanies appear, a prayer perhaps corresponding to the prayer of the veil, manifold repetition of Kyrie eleison, a solemn kneeling and benediction, and finally an Epiklesis so called, followed by the Lord's Prayer. Then the water is consecrated, and the outward signs of sprinkling and anointing with the holy oil or ointment take place.

In this ceremony we hear of no procession to the building, or any ceremony at the door, with use of Psalm xxiv. There is no trace of writing any letters upon the walls or upon the floor, or of walking across the church from corner to corner, or end to end and side to side—nothing but a simple rite of visiting the essentially important parts of the building, viz., the walls and columns. Tuki mentions also the windows, but a Coptic church can scarcely be said to possess windows in the western sense of the word, and we have taken 'window' in our MS. to refer to the niche at the east end. It is possible that these directions may belong to an earlier form of building of the basilican type, wherein windows and pillars played a more considerable part. We observe in this connection that nothing is said of the invariable side eastern chapels of the present churches, or of more than one altar, or of any dedication in the name of an archangel, and this may be another mark of antiquity.

Neither in the case of the church or altar are exorcisms used: we hear nothing of wine, or salt, or ashes. Fragrant herbs are mentioned in the restored folio, but no reference is made to them again.

* ἐπιχείει τῇ τραπέζῃ, λεγομένου τοῦ Ἀλληλοῦια, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος.
Goar, *Kil. Græc.*, p. 659.

† Martene, p. 267.

A later rubric mentions 'şilk,' said by Mr. Butler to be white beet, as an instrument of aspersion. Seven, and not twelve, lamps are prescribed, symbolising the seven spirits before the throne rather than the gates of the new Jerusalem. The use of other unnumbered lights and incense calls for no remark, the former being required by the nocturnal* beginning of the service, and the latter serving as an ordinary accessory of worship. Enough to say that in the consecration of the church incense is thrice offered, and for the altar four times.

It should be noticed that the altar is not washed, but only signed with the cross, first with the thumb alone and afterwards with the holy ointment. Jacob's pillar is alluded to, but not specially at the solemn anointing, when antiphons from the Psalms are sung. In the case both of church and altar, the congregation confirms the action of the leader of the service, Patriarch or bishop, by repetition of Amen after each epithet, conforming to the ritual of the liturgy when the so-called words of Institution are pronounced. This practice is not found in any other consecration service, except in the previously mentioned Pontifical† of Narbonne, in which there are two separate *præfationes*, each preceded by *sursum corda*, the first having nineteen and the second eleven Amens. Two other prayers of the same rite are similarly interspersed with seven and four respectively.

As for the language of the prayers, much wearisome repetition occurs, and many of the petitions in the consecration of the altar speak of hallowing 'this place,' as if the whole church was implied. There is therefore some reason for supposing that this service was originally a form which included both consecrations. No lections are found in it, but there are Psalms and three litanies, a prayer of the character of an Eucharistic Anaphora, followed by a shorter prayer, not called Epiklesis, but imploring solemnly the descent of the Holy Spirit, immediately before the anointing of the altar; then later on is a prayer for those who laboured in building the church, followed by the Trisagios and the prayer of inclination and blessing. On the other hand, it may be argued that as there is no Anaphora-like prayer in the service for the church, the consecration of the altar, being an essential element of the whole service, supplies that required prayer.

* Tuki says the night of Sunday.

† Martene, p. 263, *seqq.*

There seem to be eight complete prayers in each of the services, not including the preliminary prayer and consecration of the Epiphany tank, which is performed during the morning service after the consecration of the altar. The shortest summary of the subjects of these prayers is as follows :—

Church.

1. Pardon, sufficiency and acceptance.
2. Attributes of God without any defined petition.
3. God's work in the history of the Old and New Testament, with petition for worthiness.
4. Purposes of the church and promise of the Holy Spirit.
5. Acceptance and supply of Holy Spirit.
6. Appeal for grace to make the building a church.
7. Reiteration of history and prayer for Holy Spirit.
8. Epiklesis.

Altar.

1. Historical, prayer for Holy Spirit, purposes of altar.
2. Mercy.
3. 'Anaphora,' with seven signings.
4. Prayer for Holy Spirit.
5. Thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*), and for completion of consecration.
6. Thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*), and for abiding of the Holy Spirit.
7. For the workmen and other helpers.
8. Acceptance and final blessing.

The following table gives the sequence of the ceremonial in the two services :—

Consecration of Church.

Incense.	The Gospels.	Prayer 5.
Preliminary prayer.	Litany.	Kneeling and Kyries.
Psalms.	Incense.	Prayer 6.
Lections.	Prayer 1.	Kyries.
Psalm.	Prayer 2.	Prayer 7.

Incense.	Litany.	Summons in Greek.
The Apostle.	100 Kyries.	Epiklesis.
The Catholic.	Prayer 3.	Aspersion.
The Praxis.	Litany.	Anointing.
Psalm and Alleluia.	Prayer 4.	

Consecration of Altar.

Incense.	Prayer 2.	Trisagios.
Psalms.	Prayer 3.	Prayer 8.
Litany, short.	Prayer 4.	Incense.
Incense and signature.	Anointing.	Summons to Morning service.
Psalms.	Prayer 5.	Morning service and consecration of tank.
Litany, long.	Adoration.	Liturgy.
Incense and signature.	Vesting, etc.	
Prayer 1.	Prayer 6.	
Litany, short.	Summons in Greek.	
Kyries.	Prayer 7.	



A NEW EGYPTIAN KING; THE PREDECESSOR OF
KHEOPS.

BY A. H. SAYCE.

The ruins of El-Kab in Upper Egypt lie at the end of an ancient road which led across the desert from the Red Sea to the Nile. Its eastern extremity is called in the hieroglyphics Tep-Nekheb, and is included in the geographical lists among the cities and countries of "the South." The great wall of crude brick which still surrounds the remains of El-Kab is one of the most interesting monuments of ancient Egypt. Nearly three miles inland from El-Kab is the mouth of a wadi, or rather the pass between two low hills, where the old road first came in sight of the Nile, and which was called by the Egyptians Ro-Anti, "the entrance to the mountains." A great isolated rock rises up in the middle of it, which was partially quarried in the age of the Old Empire, and is still covered with inscriptions of the time of the VIth dynasty. A little further to the south-east is a low cliff, which is even more thickly covered with *graffiti*, some of them being probably as old as the epoch of the IIIrd dynasty. Immediately beyond the *graffiti* once stood a temple, apparently of wood, which must have been swept away by a sudden flood together with the projecting cliff of marl on which it stood, leaving behind it only its inscribed libation-tables and dishes of stone, which were discovered three years ago. At the same time that these were found, what we may call the wine-cellar of the temple was also excavated in the still uninjured part of the cliff. Here nearly two hundred earthenware jars of the Old Empire type were disinterred which had been hidden in underground recesses, and their necks closed with clay stoppers. A few earthenware dishes, also of the Old Empire type, were found along with them. For many centuries the spot remained deserted and without a temple, and no more inscriptions were engraved on the rocks. Then Amenophis III of the XVIIIth dynasty built a new temple on the cliff above the site of the old one. The new temple, which, as its

founder is careful to point out, was "constructed of stone," still stands, and a little to the east of it was a small obelisk of limestone, which may have been the original one mentioned in the *graffiti* of the Old Empire.* Eight years ago, M. Grébaut, who was then the Director of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, unfortunately determined to transport it to the Giza Museum, and on its way to Cairo it was lost in the Nile.

A mile to the south of Ro-Anti is a break in the line of cliffs, which recede eastward in the form of an amphitheatre, from which a path leads northward till it joins the old road to the Red Sea a little to the east of Ro-Anti. On the southern side of this amphitheatre and on a low isolated cliff Mr. F. W. Green, when making a survey map of the country for Mr. Somers Clarke, in 1895, discovered some *graffiti*, which when visited the following year by Mr. Somers Clarke, Mr. Quibell and myself turned out to be of unusual interest. I have since paid two visits to them and taken rubbings of the cartouches found in them, squeezes being impossible owing to the slight depth to which the lines of the characters are cut.

The *graffiti* are engraved in a sheltered part of the cliff, near the eastern extremity of it, and almost at its summit. An apse-like recess has been cut in the rock, large enough to contain a seated man and to the right of it are two holes, one above the other, in which the ends of beams of wood once rested. The beams must have supported a small structure of wood, and the place seems to have been a sort of sentinel's box. The view from it is extensive; it looks towards the north, and commands the entrance to the Red Sea road.

The *graffiti* are as follows. On the left is a boat of primitive pattern with a hawk above the prow, two oars at the stern, and a mast, while an oblong (or rectangular) cartouche takes the place of a deck cabin. Above the cartouche is a *nub* on which stand two hawks, one with the crown of Lower and the other of Upper Egypt. The

cartouche contains the hitherto unknown name , *Sh-a-ar-r-u*,

Sharu. To the right of this, and immediately above the recess, are

* Thus in one of them reference is made to "the divine prophet of Nekheb of the white obelisk."

two more oblong cartouches, with *nub* and the hawks above them.

These cartouches contain the name of  Khufu or Cheops.

Finally, to the right comes another boat, this time without a hawk, but with three ropes attached to the mast.

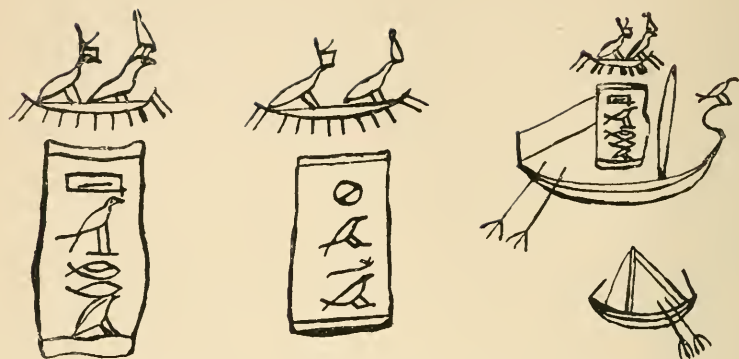
The position occupied by the name of Sharu shows that he preceded Khufu. The boat which carries his cartouche seems to be funerary; it would appear, therefore, that he was already dead at the time the drawings were made, while Khufu, whose cartouches stand alone, was still alive. We may conclude accordingly that Sharu was the immediate predecessor of Khufu.

Now according to Manetho, as quoted by Africanus, Soris was the immediate predecessor of Suphis or Khufu, and the founder of the IVth dynasty. No trace of his name, however, has been hitherto found on the monuments, and his very existence has been called in question. But the *graffiti* near El-Kab now prove that Manetho was right.

That Sharu was as much a king of all Egypt as his successor Khufu is shown by the two Horus-hawks of Upper and Lower Egypt above his name. It is possible, nevertheless, that the two kings reigned for a time together, as we know to have been the custom in the age of the XIIth dynasty. In this way we could explain the discrepant statements of Manetho and the Turin Papyrus in regard to the length of reign assigned to Khufu; while the Turin Papyrus (if the reading is correct) makes it only 23 years, Manetho extends it to 63 years.* The 63 years would be justified by the size of the great pyramid of Giza, if the theory of Lepsius and Borchardt is accepted, which makes the size of a pyramid depend on the length of a king's reign.

In the accompanying plate the cartouches of Sharu and Khufu are facsimiled from rubbings; the boats are eye-copies.

* In the list of Eratosthenes the reign of Saôphis or Khufu is stated to have been 29 years.



CARTOUCHES OF SHARU AND KHUFU

[illegible][illegible]

SOME OLD EMPIRE INSCRIPTIONS FROM EL-KAB.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

In the accompanying plate I have given a few of the Old Empire *graffiti* near El-Kab to which I have alluded in my paper on the name of Shâru. I have copied, I believe, every one of these *graffiti*, of which there are about two hundred; most of them are to be found on the southern and south-eastern faces of the great isolated rock at the entrance to the valley of Ro-Anti, and on a portion of the low cliff beyond. They were all made to face the Old Empire temple, of which the temple of Amenophis III was the later successor, and those on the cliff stop abruptly at what was once its western *enceinte*. Dr. Ludwig Stern published a few of them in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, May and June, 1875, and Mr. Fraser has published 14 (or 15) others in the *Proceedings* of this Society, June, 1893.

Two of those published by Mr. Fraser I have given over again (Nos. 16, 10) on account of their exceptional interest. No. 16 is in the middle of a fallen block of stone which is covered with inscriptions of the VIth dynasty, or at all events with inscriptions in which the names of Teta-ânkh and Pepi-ânkh occur. The Pharaoh "Dudumes, Son of the Sun" must consequently have been a near contemporary of the earlier kings of the VIth dynasty. His name has also been found at Gebelên with the second cartouche Dad-nefer-Ra, and as he did not belong to the VIth dynasty, he must have been one of the kings of the VIIth. This raises the question whether a good many of the *graffiti* at El-Kab are not of the same date. The royal names Teta, Pepi, or Ra-meri, found in them form part of the names of private individuals, and since we find exactly similar names, Pepi-seneb, Nebi, and Shema, among the Pharaohs of the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties given in the list of Pharaohs at Abydos, it is possible that the El-Kab inscriptions come down to the same period.

The inscription copied by Mr. Fraser to the right of the name of Dudumes, but enclosed within the same tablet, is of later date. It is incised, instead of being in relief like the name of the king, and has been cut over a portion of the tablet from which the second line of the inscription has been removed. It reads: "The amanuensis, Khâ-m-Uas." To the right of the tablet of Dudumes is another tablet of apparently the same date, if we may judge from the form of the characters which are in relief.

No. 10 is on a broken block of sandstone lying on the ground. The right hand portion of the cartouche has been destroyed, and how the name ought to be read it is difficult to say; but the rest of the *graffito* is clear: "The scribe, the divine prophet of the king . . . , Seneb."

The other inscriptions which I have selected from my collection have, each of them, some interest of their own. The first two (Nos. 1 and 2) are engraved on a slab of stone at the south-eastern corner of the great rock, where they would have immediately faced the old temple. The first line of the first text reads: *suten tep s-hez neter-hon A-b-a si suten tep s-hez neter-hon B-kh-n-a z-d-f nu-k neter-hon hir seshta n hât . . .* "The royal superintendent, the instructor of the divine prophets, Aba, the son of the royal superintendent, the instructor of the divine prophets, Bakhna: he says, I am the divine prophet of the mysteries of the temple." In the third line comes a mention of "this temple of the corner of the mountain," and in the last line we have "in this temple in this mountain at the corner." The first *graffito* published by Mr. Fraser, which is engraved on the cliff, begins with the words: "written in the mountain of the temple of (Khâ-khâ?) the 2nd year, the 5th day of the third month of Pert." Here the name of the temple, according to Mr. Fraser's copy,* is written as it is in my Nos. 3 and 4.

No. 2 is a record of "Mema, the son of the royal superintendent, the instructor of the divine prophets, Hor-hotep," "his son who loves him" being the "vassal" (*amakhi*) Bakhna, "his son" being the "royal superintendent, the overseer of the harem, Beti." In the 8th line a reference is made to "the goddess Nekheb of this town of Nekheb" or El-Kab.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 are incised on the south-western face of the great rock, and underneath the last are drawings of a fish, a sail, and a boat.

* My copy, I ought to add, has *hir-r-t*, "upper."

In Nos. 7, 8, and 9, which are all on rocks fallen from the cliff, No. 8 being in relief, reference is made to "the white obelisk." They severally read: "The overseer of the divine prophets of Nekheb of the white obelisk"; "The divine prophet, Kamena, of the white obelisk, the divine prophet *ân-khet-fek*"; "The overseer, *ân-khet*, the divine prophet of the white obelisk" A tomb discovered in 1896 at El-Kab by Mr Quibell, which contained objects inscribed with the name of Snefru of the IIIrd dynasty, belonged to a Kamena, but he may not have been the same as the Kamena of the *graffito*. Among the names found in the *graffiti* is that of Antef, but as his inscriptions exactly resemble those of the VIth dynasty, in the midst of which they are found, he cannot have lived under the XIth dynasty, when the name first became that of a Pharaoh.

No. 11 seems to read, "the divine prophet of the town of Nekheb, Ati-apes," though the bird may be intended for *ba*.

Nos. 12, 13, 14 and 15 are on the same boulder as the cartouche of Dudumes, and are all in relief. The lines on the two reeds (*a*) in No. 15 (that of Apa and his son Sauk) are still marked by red paint.

In Nos. 17 and 18 we come to a different locality. These two inscriptions are engraved on some fallen boulders which lie between the Speos-temple of Ptolemy Physkon and the great isolated rock, and are on the north side of the valley. No. 17, that of Ankh-neb-f, which belongs to the age of the Old Empire, has been cut over some pre-historic drawings, which have been hammered out of the rock by means of a sharp stone. The drawings consist of boats, in one of which a horned animal is standing up, and a giraffe. It is over the figure of the giraffe that the VIth dynasty *graffito* has been written. No. 18 is of a much later date, probably of the time of the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty, and is interesting from the mention in it of "the temple of Akhem at Nekhem." Akhem, the mummified Horus-hawk, was the god of Nekhem, the modern Kom el-Aḥmar, opposite El-Kab, and suggests that a tomb of Horus once existed there, like the tomb of Osiris at Abydos.

The Greek *graffito* (No. 19) is on a boulder on the west side of the entrance to a wadi immediately to the south of the Speos-temple. The two last names in it are difficult to explain, but "the twin Isis," to whom the inscription is addressed, must be the "goddess Smithis" of a Greek *graffito* which was cut by a certain Plato on the doorway of the Speos-temple.

Many of the Old Empire *graffiti* to which I have been drawing attention record the names, not of pilgrims or travellers, but of officials attached to the temple of Ro-Anti. Among the genealogies contained in them are the following :—

Mema, son (?) of Bekhen-Akhem, son of Nefer-semem, son of Kamenna.

Shemu, the scribe of Pepi Ra-meri, son of Kamenna, son of Her-ânkḥ.

Khnum-ânkḥ, son of Hotep, whose “good name was Pepi-ânkḥ.”

Khua, son of Teta-ânkḥ.

Thesk, son of Sontef, son of Ta-ur-sen.

Hotep, son of Apa (perhaps the same as Hotep, the father of Khnum-ânkḥ).

Sennûs, son of Aku.

Nefert, son of Her-m-khet.

Sauka, son of Apa.



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OLD EMPIRE INSCRIPTIONS FROM EL-KAB

(FROM DRAWINGS BY PROF. SAYCE)

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

(Continuation).

BY PROF. DR. HOMMEL.

§ 38a. To this (*ashlaku*, rope-maker, hence Arabic *silk*, pl. *aslāk*, thread, rope), may be added (as confirming my translation of *ashlaku*), the Babylonian word *ashlu*, "rope," MEISSNER, Suppl. p. 19.* It is clear that *ashlaku* is only a derivation of this *ashlu*, as *nindanaku* from *ninda*, *shandabaku* from *sha-dub*, *parakku* from *bara*, *shanakku* from *shana*, *ninnabaku* (written *sha-na-ba-ku*) from *nin-na-bi* (written *sha-na-bi*), "forty" (semitisized *shînîpu*, from the dialectical variant *shin* "four," instead of *nin*).

§ 39. *The Lulubaeen king Anu-banî-ni.*

In the so-called "Kuthaeen legend of the creation" (comp. Father SCHEIL, "Recueil," XX: "Notes d'Epigraphie et d'archéologie Assyriennes," § XXXV; Prof. SAYCE, P.S.B.A., Vol. XX, p. 187-189; Prof. ZIMMERN, "Zeitschr. für Assyriol.," Vol. XII, p. 317-330), or rather an epical poem on the war of a Babylonian king† against a hostile king and his seven sons, this king is called *An-ba-ni-ni*, his wife *Me-li-li*, and his two first sons, *Me-ma-an-gab* and *Me-du-du*.

Now it is strange that nobody till now has seen the identity of this barbarian king, *An-ba-ni-ni* (ZIMMERN, p. 320, AN-BA-NI-NI) with the king of the old Babylonian stele of Ser-i-pool or Hazar-geri →𒀭 *Nu-ba-ni-ni* (or *Anu-banî-ni*, the god Anu is our begetter) of the Lulubaeans. The text of this remarkable monument was pub-

* Comp. the beginning of § 38 in the *Proc.*, Vol. XIX, p. 315 (December, 1897).

† His name is not found in the poem; Tukulti EN (bêl) nishi is to be read rather *tukulti* (in my strength) *en-ni-shi* (I was weakened), as Prof. ZIMMERN has shown.

lished by Father SCHEIL, "Recueil," XIV, p. 100-106 ; its beginning runs thus :—

OBERVERSE.

→| *Nu-ba-ni-ni*

sharru da-num (written *da-lum*)

sharru Lu-lu-be-(ki)-im (be written →|→|)

ša-la-am-shu

5. *u ša-lam* →| *Ninni* (→||)

i-na shá-du-im (comp. otherwise *Sa-tu-im* and my remarks
"Anc. Hebr. Trad.," p. 109)

Ba-ti-ir

ush-zi-iz ;

shá ša-al-mi-in

10. *an-ni-in* (comp. for the ending *-in* JENSEN, Z.A. VIII, 240)

û dub-ba-am*

û-shá-za-ku

→| *Nu-um* (i.e. *Num* = *Anum*, comp. *Nun* and *Anun*)

u →| *Tum* (wife of Anu)

15. →| *En-lil* (Bel)

u →| *Nin-lil* (Beltu)

→| *Im* (Rammân)

û →| →|| (here = Istar, daughter of Anu and wife of
Bel-Rammân)

→| *En-zu* (Sin)

20. *û* →| | (Samas)

.....

REVERSE.

10. *zi-ra-shu*

11. *li-il-ku-tu*, etc.,

i.e. Anu-banî-ni, the mighty king, the king of Lulubi (Assyrian Lulumî, in the mountains east of the Tigris), erected his statue and the statue of Istar in the mountains of Batir ; whosoever these statues and the stele (tablet, inscription) removes, the gods Anu and Tum, Bel and Beltis, Rammân and Istar (otherwise Shala), Sin and Samas may destroy his seed, &c.

The characters of the inscription point to a time earlier than Gudea and the kings of Ur (Kalab-Ba'u, Dun-kînu, etc.), in other words, to the period of Sargon and Naram-Sin.

* With *û* I transcribe always <|→|| (with *û* <|→|| and with *u* <|).

aššur D.P. $\langle \Sigma \rangle$ (Nirgal), D.P. $\rightarrow \nabla \Xi$ (Tishpak)

aššur D.P. DI-KUD^{pl} comp. 1, 16.

. D.P. *Gi-ga-rak*

. *pa-du*, D.P. *Ni-mu-du* (or *Šal-mu* $\Sigma \nabla$?)

25 [D.P. *Ša*] *Imu*, D.P. *Šam-shu* $\langle \langle \sup \rangle \rangle$ (= *sharrâni*)

. . . DU^{pl}, D.P. $\Sigma \nabla \nabla \Sigma$ *su-mu-u* (Usumû?, Sham-su-mû?)

aššur D.P. $\Sigma \nabla \nabla$ MU^{pl} -*ni* (or *ŠAL-MU* ^{pl}-*ni* ?)

D.P. *Ku-nu-ush-kat-ru* (comp. DELITZSCH, H. W., p. 600, but more probably a foreign name).

daltu na-kil-tu šalmâni ^{pl}

30 *alu* $\nabla \rightarrow$ KAL^{pl} *ilâni* (perhaps *me-dil-dalât-ilâni* ?)

. D.P. *Šalmu* ^{pl}

. ^p *nârâni* (rivers) ^{pl}

(The rest is broken off.)

Col. 2, 1. *šumê* ^{pl}-*shu-nu* MU-*ar* (= *tazâkar*), i.e., their names shalt thou pronounce (or recite)

comp. 4, 11; 5, 16; 5, 23; 7, 17; 8, 24; 11, 24.

II. (2, 2) D.P. *Šalmu*

I ^v. *Ish-kha-ra* (= Istar)

D.P. *Ga-ash-ra-a-nu* (the strong one)

5 D.P. *U-tu* (= Samas), D.P. En-û-ra (= *Bêlu labiru*)

D.P. *La-ban* (= Sin ?), D.P. $\Sigma \nabla \nabla$ (*Nabû*)

comp. 7, 2 (Nabû).

D.P. *Gu-ba-ba*, D.P. *Ab-ku-u-a*

(comp. 9, 17, *Gaz-ba-ba*).

D.P. *I-šum mu-ut-tal-li-ku*

comp. 7, 2 (Pa-bil-sag = I-šum).

D.P. *Ma-lik*, D.P. *A-nu-ni-tu*

10 D.P. $\Sigma \nabla \nabla \Sigma$ $\Sigma \Xi$ *-a**, D.P. *I-si-ni-tu* (the goddess of Isin).

D.P. *Anum, ilâni rabûti* comp. 1, 5-9.

D.P. $\langle \nabla \rangle$ -*tum*, D.P. $\langle \nabla \rangle$ -*ni-bur* (*Lim-ni-bur*?, comp. 4, 28, *La-ni-bur-ti-tu*)

D.P. *Na-ru-du*, D.P. $\langle \nabla \nabla \rangle$ $\Sigma \rightarrow$ (*Ku-sil*, comp. D.P. *Šû-sil-la*).

* Read $\Sigma \nabla \nabla \Sigma$ $\rightarrow \Xi$ ∇ i.e. *Šam-la-a* and comp. 5, 1 *Ša-me-la-a*?

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- Col. 4, 1. *alu Umbara* (Harran?) *she-lu-ru libnat*
ekalli u khi-ib-shu comp. 8, 3
man-za-zu D.P. $\langle \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{ }^{\text{pl}}$ (*Ishtarâti*)
 D.P. *Kal* 𐎶𐎶 *lim-khu-ru*
5. *lish-mu-û*
lik-ru-bu a-na ali Aššur
lik-ru-bu a-na mât Aššur
lik-ru-bu a-na sharri en-ni (or *belî-ni*)
ilâni sha pu-tû (i.e. the gods named before?)
10. *ina ûmê (-me) she-ir-ti nu-bat-ti* (in the days of work and rest?) *shumê-shu-nu ta-za-kar* (comp. 2, 1)

- IX. D.P. VII -*bi* (*Sibi*)
 D.P. TUR 𐎶𐎶 (*Tammuz*)
 D.P. *Na-ru-du*, D.P. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (*Istar*)
15. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (perhaps 𐎶 indicating a gloss, *u Elû* = ANTA?)
 D.P. *Ti-ûi*,* D.P. *Samas*, D.P. $\langle \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \rangle$ (*Nirgal*)
sha alu Kar- D.P. *Nirgal*
 D.P. *La-ab-ra-nu*
ilâni sha bît D.P. VII -*bi*

- X. 20. D.P. *Aššur*, D.P. 𐎶𐎶 (Ea or here perhaps Bel)
aššur D.P. *Im* (Rammân), D.P. *Mash-mash* (Gemini)
 D.P. *A-num*, D.P. *E-a* $\langle \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \rangle$ comp. 1, 5
 D.P. *Sin*, D.P. *Im* (Rammân), D.P. *Samas*
 comp. 1, 6
 D.P. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 $\langle \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{ } \rangle$, D.P. *Mash-tab-ba*
 comp. 5, 11 !
25. D.P. *Gibil*, D.P. *Nusku*
 D.P. 𐎶𐎶 (Ninib), D.P. *Be-ir*
 D.P. TUR 𐎶𐎶 (*Tammuz*)
 D.P. *La-ni-bur-ti-tu* (comp. *Lim-ni-bur*, 2, 12 ?)
 D.P. *Nin-lil*, D.P. *Belit-shamê*
 comp. 1, 7f

* Comp. the Alarodian god *Tehib*, *Itihib*?

30. *sha alu Kar-ku*- D.P. 𐎶 (Ninib)
 D.P. *She-ru-ia* comp. 1, 9
 D.P. *Tash-me-tum* comp. 1, 10
 D.P. *Kip-pat* 𐎶𐎶 comp. 1, 11
 D.P. *Ku-ta-ta-ti* comp. 1, 13

35. *aššur* D.P. *Im, sha pân Aššur du-gul*

aššur D.P. *Im*

sha ina D.P. 𐎶𐎶 1D

ilâni D.P. NAM^{pl}

..... *ina ûmê (-me)* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶

(rest broken off; probably end of the paragraph)

- XI. (Col. 5, 1). D.P. *Shâ-me-la-a* (comp. 2, 10?)
 D.P. *Ish-me-ka-ra-bu* ("he hears the prayer")
 D.P. *Nusku*
 D.P. *Il-pa-da* (*Il-khad-da*?)

5. D.P. *Lîm-khu-ru-pi-shu-nu* ("they may receive their words"?)

D.P. *Shi-tam-me-ka-ra-bu* comp. 5, 2

shumê D.P. *dâinûti* (i.e. these are the names of the gods of judgment in the temple of Assur)

sha bît Aššur

- XII. D.P. *Samas*, D.P. *Ai*

10. D.P. *Bu-ne-ne*

D.P. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 comp. 4, 24

D.P. *Ak* (Nabû), D.P. *Mash-tab-ba*

D.P. *Gibûl*, D.P. *Nusku*

Kî-i LU. SIGISSI^{pl} (if the lambs)

15. *ina pân* D.P. *Samas* BAL -*u-ni* (before Samas are sacrificed)

shumê-shu-nu tazâkar (-ar) (then their names thou mayest pronounce)

- XIII. D.P. *Sin*, D.P. *Nin-gal aššur*

D.P. 𐎶𐎶 (Ea?), D.P. TUR^{pl}ZI (Tammuz)

D.P. *Mash-tab-ba* GI-*ru* (= *šihru*), D.P. 𐎶𐎶 (Nabû)

20. *ilâni* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 -*ti*

Kî-i LU. SIGISSI^{pl}

ina pân D.P. *Sin* BAL -*u*

shumê-shu-nu tazâkar (-ar)

} comp. 5, 14-16

XIV *aššur, aššur, aššur* D.P.  (Istar)

25. *aššur* D.P.  (Ea ?), D.P. *Sin*

D.P. *E-a-* 

D.P.  (Ninib), D.P. *Ai* (?), D.P. *Nin-gal*

D.P.    (BIR)- *bi* (ideogr. for *Sháushgas* ?)

D.P. *Hut-ba-li-i* (*hut* written )

comp. 3, 18

30 D.P.  (i.e., the same) D.P. *Gu-la*

D.P.  („ „) D.P. *Šalmu*

D.P.  („ „) D.P. *Šalmu*^{pl} (= *Šalmānu* ?)

comp. 1, 27, 31 ?)

D.P.  (i.e., the same) D.P. *Ni-ru*

D.P. *Ku-lit-ta-na-a-ti* (comp. 7, 28 !)

35. D.P. *Il-ta-na-a-ti* (comp. 7, 27 NI-NI-tum)

D.P. *Nusku*, D.P. *Il-tum*

D.P. *Shi-pa-sa* (= *shipat* + *sha* ?), D.P. *Shar-ru* 

D.P. *Ish-la* (or *Mil-la* ?), *ilāni rabûti*

D.P. *Ku-ti bit-mash-mash*

40. *bit-mash-mash*

(rest broken off)

6, 1. *shar-ru*

D.P. VII-BI, D.P. *Na-ru-du*

D.P. *Nirgal sha alu Tar-bi-su*

D.P.    *irši-tim* comp. 6, 25

5. *it-ti-ki* (i.e. with thee, O Istar) *lim-hu-ru*

it-ti-ku (read *it-ti-ki*) *liš-me-u*

lik-ru-bu ana alu Assur

lik-ru-bu ana mât Assur

lik-ru-bu ana sharri belî-ni

10. *ilâni sha alu Ninua*

XV. *aššur aššur aššur* dp  (Ea or rather Bel)

D.P.  (Ninib), D.P.  -*ku*

D.P. *Latarak* (   [ ])

D.P. *Nusku*

15 D.P. DI-KUD^{pl}

D.P.  (Ea), *aššur* D.P. *Im*

D.P. *Mash-tab-ba*

D.P.  (comp. 5, 28 ?) , D.P. KU(?)

D.P. DI(?)^{pl}, D.P. *Nu(?)ri-ni(?)*

20. D.P. *Gi-si* , D.P. *Zi-šur*
24. D.P. *E-a-* 
25. D.P. *Belit-irši-tim* comp. 6, 4.
D.P. *Ku-un*, D.P. (comp. 1, 25 ?)
D.P. *Im*, D.P. *Sha-la*
D.P. *Sin*, D.P. *Ningal*
D.P. *Salmu* , D.P. DI (?)
30. D.P. *Belit-shamê*
D.P. TUR-ZI (Tammuz)
D.P. *Şalmu*
D.P.  (Ishtar) sha   (?) (= *nimri* ?)
D.P. UR-MAGH^{pl} ("of the lions")
35. D.P. IM^{pl}
D.P. ALAD (= *shêdu*), D.P. KAL (or LAMA, = *lamassu*)
D.P.   
aššur D.P.  (Ea or Bel), D.P.
D.P. VII-bi (*Sibi*), D.P. *Na-ru-du*
40. D.P. AK (Nabû), D.P. *Tash-me-tum*
D.P.  (Nergal), D.P. *Za-az*
D.P. *Ib*, D.P. *Nin-lil*
ekallu  D.P. . . .
D.P.  
D.P. *Za-mal-mal* (= Ninib of Kish)
D.P.   
- Col. 7. (Beginning, several lines, broken off)
   

-
- XVI. D.P. AK (Nabû), D.P. *Pa-bil-sag* (= *Ishum*)
7, 2-14 = 2, 13-23 !
D.P. *Nin-gir-su*
D.P. *E-bi-iḫ*, D.P. *Im* (Rammân)
5. D.P. *Sha-la*
D.P. *Ta-ra-mu-u-a*
D.P. *Nisaba*
D.P. *Im* D.P. *Birḫu* (2, 17, D.P. *Im* NIM-GIR =
Rammân-Birḫu)
D.P. *Ni-iḫ-ḫu* *Şalmu*
10. D.P. *Gibil-Bir-ḫu*
D.P. *Nu-ru-Şalmu*
D.P. *Nin-gir-su*

D.P. *Ir-mish*, D.P. *Khar-ish*D.P. *zik-kur-ra-a-ti*15. *ilâni sha ku-be-ti* (of the stables)*shur* D.P. *Gab(?)ba(?)* →  (of the bull of Gubaba ?)*shumê-shu-nu MU-ru* (= *tazakurû*)

XVII.

aššur D.P. <𐎶𐎵 (Ishtar) *sha Suti*D.P. *Bi-ru-u-a* *shá* „

(resp. 𐎶𐎵, comp. 5, 3off)

20. D.P. *Ishtar-šalmu* *shá Suti*D.P. *Ishtar* NU^{pl} (= *šalmâni*) *shá* „D.P. *Ishtar-ni-ru* *shá* „D.P. *Ishtar-ni-ip-ḫu* *shá* „D.P. *Ishtar-nimru* (leopard) *shá* „ comp. 6, 33 ?25. D.P. *Ishtar* UR-MAGH^{pl} *shá* „ comp. 6, 34D.P. *Ishtar* D.P. *Zi-î* *shá* „D.P. NI.NI-tum (= *Il-tum*) *shá* „ * comp. 5, 36D.P. *Ku-lit-tum* *shá* „ comp. 5, 34D.P. *Ḫi-bi-du-un-ḫi* *shá* „ comp. 3, 2830. D.P. *shi-na ma-ra-ti* *sha* „

(“the two daughters”)

D.P. *Dub-Kash-da-ki* *sha* „D.P. *Pap-sukal* *sha* „D.P. *Tar-ta-ḫa-a-nu* *sha* „D.P. *Ib-A-ku* *sha* „ (comp. 6, 27f
Rammân and
Sin ?)35. D.P. *Šalmu* << *sha* „ comp. 6, 29D.P. 𐎶𐎵 (Istar) *sha Pi-na-as(-ki)* comp. 6, 30*ilâni sha Bur-un-da* (comp. Dûr-Undasi in Elam ?)*lim-ḫu-ru lish-me-u**lik-ru-bu ana aḷu Aššur*40. *lik-ru-bu ana mat Aššur*Col. 8. [*lik-ru-bu ana sharri belî-ni* ; (comp. 4, 8 ; 6, 9)*ilâni sha mat Su-tu* (comp. 6, 10)]

XVIII.

.....

(several lines wanting)

D.P. *A-nun-na-ki rabûti**mu-kin ina ma-ḥa-zi*KUR (*shadê*)^{pl}, A (*mê*)^{pl} (comp. 9, 41) *alu Umbara*

(comp. 4, 1)

*she-lu-ru, libnat ekalli*5. *u ḥi-ip-shu**bît Urin-na- <𐎶𐎶> (comp. Urin- <𐎶𐎶> -ki of the list
of kings !!)**tu (?) -bal-lil man-za-zu**lim-ḥu-ru balâṭa (written TI.LA)**lish-me-u su-pi-e*10. *kur-ba a-na alu Aššur* (be propitious to Assur)𐎶𐎶 (= *kurba*) *a-na mat Aššur*𐎶𐎶 (= *kur-ba*) *a-na sharri belî-ni ;**ilâni shâ alu Tu-a (comp. mâṭ Itu'a).*

XIX.

D.P. <𐎶𐎶>

15. D.P. *Bel-kit-ri-e**a-šib alu(?) Ga(?) -ni-na**na-ḡir tarbaši**u ka-ru lim-mi**sham-sik shal-lim ?)*20. *ur-rik* (written -ṣu) *ra-bish.**Kî-i NU-SIGISSI*^{pl}*sha pân u-ra-a-tî (the stables)**epu-shu-ni (written KAK-shu-ni)**shumê-shu-nu tazakar (ar)*XX. (25). D.P. *Samas sha alu Kak-zi*D.P. *Gul-mis sha alu Assur* (comp. 2, 22 ; 7, 13?)D.P. *Nin-Akkad-ki**sha alu Bit-* D.P. NIND.P. 𐎶𐎶-zi *sha alu* 𐎶𐎶 (i.e. Bit → 𐎶 NIN)30. D.P. *Pap-sukal sha alu* „ „D.P. *Lim-ta-gur sha alu* „ „D.P. *Na-na-a sha alu* „ „D.P. *Mi-du am-nu 𐎶𐎶𐎶 sha* „ „D.P. *Bi-ši-il-lu sha* „ „

35. D.P. *Ka-ni-shur-ra* sha 𐎧𐎺 (i.e. Bit 𐎶𐎵 NIN)
 D.P. *Nin-Akkad-ki* sha *Bit Il-ti*
 D.P. *Ku-mar-bi* (or -gas)
sha alu Te-di
 D.P. *Na-mash-bi* (or -gas) *sha alu* 𐎧𐎺 (i.e. *Te-di*)
40. Di-ma-nu-ḥa (Salmanuḥa ?) *sha alu* 𐎧𐎺
- Col. 9. (Beginning broken off)

- XXI. (New Paragraph)
 [. D.P.] *Samas*
 D.P. *A-a-i-tu* (*Ta'itu*, otherwise only *A-a*, i.e. *Ai*)
 D.P. *Nin-ti-la* (Belit-balâṭi)
5. D.P. *Ta-ḥu-ra* (comp. 9, 30)
 D.P. *It-ta-* 𐎶𐎵 *ilâni*
 D.P. *Ḥal-di-a ṣi-ra* (comp. *Khaldis* of Van)
 D.P. *Ḥal-la-si-a* (or *Ḥal-la-dir* ?)
 D.P. *Lul-la-ku*
10. D.P. *Nab-ri-iš*
 D.P. *Nirgal sha ḥu-ub-* 𐎶𐎵 (*Hubrak* ?)
 D.P. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *-ra-gal* (*Girra-gal*)
 D.P. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (*Nirgal*) *Ki'i-* 𐎶𐎵 *-nu*
 D.P. *Na-na-a*, D.P. *Nin-* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (*Belit-ali*)
15. D.P. *Nin-En-lil-ki* (*Belit-Nippur*)
 D.P. *Nin-Ad-ka-at*
 D.P. *Gaz-bu-ba* (or *Ḳum-ba-ba*, comp. 2, 7 *Gu-ba-ba*
 and the Elamitic name *Humbaba*)
 D.P. *Nin-a-zu* (consort of Allat₁)
 D.P. *Ia-ap-ri-tu* (= goddess of Apir in Elam)
20. D.P. *Ib-la-i-tu* (= goddess of Ibla in Syria)
 D.P. *Ḳa-al-da-i-tu*
 D.P. NIN-zar-be
 D.P. *Ḳa-at-ra-bu-tu*
 D.P. **As-sa-ra** D.P. **ma-za-aš**
25. D.P. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (*Igigi*) *ilâni sha shame-e*
 D.P. *A-nun-na-ki ilâni irši-tim*
Im-uru-lu (= Shutu, Southwind), *Im II.* (= Northw.),
Im III., *Im IV.*
ilâni bêlê-karâshi ^{pl} (written 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵-ki-𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 pl).
 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, D.P. *Ma-ku* ^{pl}

30. D.P. *Da-ḥu-ra-a-te* (comp. 9, 5)
 D.P. *Im* (Rammân) *shá* (?) *¶¶* (?) ^{pl} (of the waters ?)
 D.P. *¶¶ mu-dar-ri-e-tu* (or *mu-ib-ri-e-tu* ?)
ṣa-tu (or *irbit-tu* ?) *mât Assur alâni sha*
parakkâni-sha
35. *ma-ṣa-ra-tu-sha*
ḥar-ba-nu-sha (her ruins)
ti-la-nu-sha
su-uk-ku (sanctuary)
nî-me-du parakki
40. *ku-um-mu a-a-ku* (*iaku*) *sha mat Assur*
shadâni (-nî), *naḥ-bi* (comp. 8, 3)
nârâni kib-rat irbit-tim
- Col. 10. (Beginning $x + 5$ lines, broken off.)
ḥu-ud lib-bi
e-pish za-kut-tu
nap(?)shur pi-ti-tim(?)
10. *ana alu Assur pit-a-a* ;
ûmê arkutî
shanâti da-ra-a-ti
kakku dan-nu
BAL-a (*palâ*) *ar-ka*
15. *shanâti* GAB-DI *rapshâtî*
asharidâni, sharrâni
a-na sharri belî-nî di-na (for *idinâ*) ;
sha an-na-a-ti (scil. *katrî*, presents, gifts)
a-na ilâni-shu iddinu (-nu)
20. *sa-ka ma-'a-da* DAGAL ^{pl} (*urappishû* ?)
a-na tab-bu-li-shu (to his flock)
di-na-nî-shu (and to himself)
lu TI-LA (*balit*), *lu sha-lim*,
êli sharrâni mal-ku-û-tam
25. *sharrû-tam kish-shu-ta*
êpush (*KAK-ush*), *she-bu-ta*
la-bi-ru-ta lil-lik,
ana MU-DIN (for the man) *ta-me an-nu-ti* (who con-
 jures these gods)
 𐎶𐎵 -*im* (*shadim* ?) *ellû-tu, shamné* ^{pl} *la-shá* ^{pl} (unceasing
 oils),

30. MUN (*tâbtu*, frankincense)  -ba (gift) *ri-ki-ti* (of
fragrant plants)
ara a-ka-li-shu-nu (for the food of the gods)
u ki-ri-ru tâbû (and a good lamp or fire ?)
a-na nu-ri-shu-nu
lib-shi, *bul-ta* (= *bullîta*, Imper.)
35. *shi ri-a* (my flesh), *di-in-ka* (Imper. of *damâku*)
ik-ri-bi (my prayer) ;
. . . *sha ilâni* (-ni)
[*a-shi*-] *bu-ut mat Assur*
(Probably end of the paragraph ; the beginning of
the next column broken off.)

XXII. (Col. 11).

- D.P.  [? or -ku ?]
D.P. AK (*Nabû*) *sha*  =
D.P. *Belit ilâni* (= line 16)
D.P.  (Ninib), D.P. *Na-na-a*
5. D.P. *Marduk abbuli* D.P.   (Ishtar).
abbuli D.P. *Ib*
D.P. *Belit TI-LA* (*balâti*)
D.P. *Ba-û*
D.P. *Gu-la*
10. D.P. *Ku-ru-ni-tu* (comp. otherwise D.P. NIN-  ,
and *Kur-nun* = *Tashmêtu*)
D.P. TUR-     (*mâr bîti*, god of the under-world)
D.P. *Za-ri-ku* (=    , Z.A. vii, 275)
D.P. *E-di-ru* (*E-ti-ru*)
D.P. *Ga-me-lu*
15. D.P.  (= *bêlit*) *Ni-na-a*
D.P. *Be-lit ilâni* (= line 3)
D.P. *Im* (Rammân) *sha e-nu-ûi*
D.P. *Ingur*   (Ea or here perhaps Bel)
D.P. *Ni-mid*   (Ea „ „ „)
20. *Ilâni sha bît Sag-illa*
û Bâb-ili (-ki)
Ina úmi (-me) LU-SIGISSI ^{pl}
ina pâni D.P.   (Bel) BAL-*u*
shumê-shu-nu tazakar

- XXIII. 25. D.P. AK (*Nabû*), D.P. *A-gu-u* (*Sin*)
 D.P. *Šir-gal* (great serpent), D.P. *Na-na-a*
 D.P. *E-a-⟨⟨*, D.P. *𐎶𐎵𐎶* (*Marduk*)
 D.P. *Zar-pa-ni-tum*
 D.P. *Sin*, D.P. *Nin-gal*
30. D.P. *Samas*, D.P. *Gu-la* (otherwise D.P. *𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶*)
 D.P. *Šar-úr* (*𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶-𐎶*)
 D.P. *Šar-gaz* (*𐎶𐎶 -gaz*)
 D.P. *E-bi-il*
 D.P. *Za-me-ru*
35. *ru*, D.P. *Nusku*
- Col. 12. (Beginning broken off)
 [*Bâb-*] *ili* (*-ki*)
 D.P. [*Samas*], D.P. *Ai*
 [D.P.] *Gal*, *An-shar Di-e-ri* (= of *Dûr-ili*)
 D.P. *Nirgal*, D.P. *La-az*
5. D.P. *Za-mal-mal*
 D.P. *Sin*, D.P. DI-KUD (*Nabû*)
 D.P. *Nin-ka-rak*
 D.P. *Nab-te-si* (?) *-kil-li*
 D.P. *Nusku*, D.P. *𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶*
10. D.P. *I-shum*
ilâni (*-ni*) *sha pân* D.P. *Marduk*

XXIV.

Kî-i sharru LU-SIGISSI ^{pl}*Ina pân kakkabâni epušu-ni* (*𐎶𐎶 -uš-u-ni*)*ina pân Aššur, ina pân* D.P. *Marduk*

15. *ina pân* D.P. *Maš-maš* (= *Nirgal*, but *𐎶* here perhaps
Nin-ib), *ina pân* D.P. *𐎶𐎶𐎶* (*Istar*)
ina pân D.P. *Sin*, *ina pân* D.P. *𐎶𐎶* (*Nabû*)
ina pân kakkab *𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶* (*Kak-BAN*, *Sirius*), *ina pân*
kakkab *𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶* (near *Sagittarius*?)
ina pân D.P. *Im* (*Rammân*)
 [„] D.P. *Ya-ri-ki* (*𐎶𐎶𐎶*, or perhaps an imitation
 of the West-Semitic *Yerakh*, “Moon”?)
20. [„] D.P. *Gula*
 [„] D.P. *Nirgal*
 „] D.P. *𐎶𐎶𐎶*

- [*ina pîn*] — (read $\rightarrow$?) *gam-lum* (comp. W.A.I.,
5, 46, 1, line 3)
[„ D.P.] TUR^{pl}.ZI
25. ∇ $\rightarrow$ (Sha-mash)? or perhaps the rest
of a verb)
-

- *ilâni*
. $\rightarrow$
30. MU.KAM
. $\rightarrow$ -ba
34-38 broken off (end)

Evidently this list had originally twelve paragraphs, § 1 forming a sort of introduction, and § 24 a ritual conclusion. The paragraphs 2-7 give the names of the gods of the chief temples of the old city Assur (§ 2 temple of Anu and Ramman, § 3 of Sin and Samas, § 4 of Istar, § 5 of Ib, § 6 of Gula, § 7 of Marduk). Then follow in § 8 different gods, perhaps of Umbara (= Harran?), whose names are to be invoked on certain holy days; § 9 gives the gods of the temple of the "Seven-god" (Nergal or Nusku); § 10 is a parallel enumeration to § 1, whilst in § 11 the divine judges of the temple *bît-Assur* (probably the chief temple of the town Assur) are enumerated. Then follow § 12 and 13, Samas and Sin, with an advice to invoke their names and the names of their consort gods. With § 14 the list leaves Assur and enumerates the other sanctuaries and gods of Assyria and the Assyrian empire, beginning with Istar of Nineveh and some other gods of this capital. The §§ 15 and 16 begin with a praise to the two principal Babylonian gods, Bêlu (Marduk) and Nabû. Of special interest are the following paragraphs, §§ 17-21, because they name the gods of foreign countries, at first of the nomadic tribes of the *Suti* (§ 17, Istar of Suti, comp. the mention of the town Pinaz, perhaps = Pilaz, and of Burunda), then the gods of the Aramaic tribe of Tua (= *Itua*, § 18, comp. the mention of *bît Urinna-azag*, the native place of the second dynasty of Babel, and again Umbara, which is held by Mr. Pinches to be Erech), then § 19 two, probably also foreign gods of cattle, then § 20, Samas of Kakzi, and several gods of a town called *Bît-Belti*. But the most important paragraph is § 21, "the gods of the land of Assur," *i.e.*, of the

But the name, which Dr. PEISER alleges, is to be read   -*shar-gub-ba*, and not, as Dr. PEISER meant, UR-KU (= Kalab) -*shar-gub-ba*. My esteemed friend, M. THUREAU DANGIN, wrote to me about this reading a year ago (in a letter, dated Paris, 28th January, 1898) as follows :—

“ Le second signe de UR-x-*shar-gub-ba* est *til*, en non *ku*, ainsi que le pense M. PEISER. Je crois ailleurs que dans les noms propres l'element  peut correspondre à *Kalbu* (cf. dans les contrats Néo-Babyloniens Kalbi-Bau, Kalbi-Marduk, etc., et ‘Corp. Inscr. Semit.’ I, 71, כלב אלם). Il semble bien que dans cet emploi *Kalbu* a le sens de chien : on pouvait aussi bien s'appeler le chien que le petit veau (cf.  -Sin) de telle divinité. Cf. dans une lettre au roi d'Assur, *ana kalbi-shu ana (amêlu) ardi-shu*, ‘à son chien, à son serviteur,’ et II Rois viii, עבדך הכלב. Quant à savoir si כלב ‘chien’ et כלב ‘hiérodoule’ ont même origine c'est une question sur laquelle je n'oserais pas avoir d'opinion. En tout cas il paraît bien que dès l'origine ‘hiérodoule’ ait été rendu par l'ideogramme de chien, . Voici en effet comment je serois disposé à comprendre Urnina Découv., pl. 2 *ter*, No. 2, Col. III, cases 3 et suivantes : 40 UR | DAM | DINGER NINA | MAŠ BI-PAD : “40 hiérodoules, époux de la déesse Nina, j'ai choisis.”

Now I am in a position to give a mathematical proof for the reading *Kalab-* for UR (only that the nominative of its status absol. is not *kalbu* “dog,” but *kalabu* “priest,” comp. my “Anc. Heb. Trad.,” p. 114f.). Dr. MEISNER in his valuable *Supplement zu den Assyrischen Wörterbüchern* (Leiden, 1898), gives, s.v. *Amil-Samas* (UR $\rightarrow$  ), sufficient evidence for the meaning “worm,” citing the passage W.A.I., II, 49, 63, *shumma kakkabu ana amêl Samas itûr* (“wenn ein Stern sich in einen Sonnenmanns-wurm verwandelt”), the word before it being *nâbi*, the words after it *sâsi*, *kalmati*. On the other side Prof. DELITZSCH in his “Handwörterbuch,” s.v. *kalbu* “dog,” cites the lexicographical list of names of dogs (and other animals), W.A.I., II, 6, 13-19, where we read :—

UR-KU = *kal-bu*

 *Nim-ma-ki* = *ka-lab Elamti*, “dog of Elam,” etc.

 $\rightarrow$    (i.e., *ka-lab*) $\rightarrow$  *Sha-mash*

Since this  $\rightarrow$   = *Ka-lab-* D.P. *Shamash* is exactly of the same formation of the well-known proper names beginning with UR, the proof for the reading *Ka-lab* is convincing.

Why the Babylonians called a certain kind of worm "priest of Samas" (Sonnen-priester), we do not know (perhaps because it had on its back a drawing resembling some ornament of a priest of the Sun?), but the fact that they did so is indisputable.

§ 42. The true reading of $\rightarrow\Uparrow$ *Nin-* $\Uparrow$ as *Nin-ib* (comp. above, § 32, Dec., 1897).

Every Assyriologist knows the rôle which placed Nin-ib or Nindar beside Assur in the religion of the Assyrian kings. Since "Istar of Nineveh" (as the ideograph of Nineveh 𒌷𒍪𒌷 -*ki* shows) was originally the goddess 𒌷𒍪𒌷 of the Gudea inscriptions, or *Gula*, it is most probable that Nin- 𒌷𒍪𒌷 , the consort of Gula, was, beside Istar, the chief god of Nineveh, like Anu and Rammân were the two chief gods in the city of Assur. This is proved by the statement of the classics that Ninos, the Heros eponymus of Nineveh (his child is Ninyas = Ninua, *i.e.*, in the language of genealogy: he founded Nineveh) was the "son of Belos"; for Nin- 𒌷𒍪𒌷 is too the "valiant hero" and the "son" of En-lil or Bêl. But if this is so, then it is more than probable that *Ninua* (*Ninva*, 𒌷𒍪𒌷 , Nineveh) is a direct derivation from the name of the god Nin- 𒌷𒍪𒌷 = Ninos, and this again is only possible under the pre-supposition that the true pronounciation of this name was (at least in Assyria) not Nindar, but Nin-ib. The change from Nin-ib to Niniba, Niniva, Ninva (Ninua), Ninâ (Ni-na-a, beside Ni-nu-a), *Nívos* is easy enough.

§ 43. MEISSNER, "Supplement," p. 96, gives an Assyrian word *shanunkatu*, "queen," citing "Beiträge zur Assyriologie," III, 260, 6, and 360 (Istar of Erech has, in an inscription of Esarhaddon, the epithet *sha-nu-un-ka-at ad-na-a-ti*, "the queen of the dwelling places"), comp. PINCHES, STRONG, "Hebraica," VIII, 118 (cited by MEISSNER, B.A., III, 361), *shanukatu* = *sharratu* and *malkatu* (81, 4, 28, 327, duplicate of W.A.I., V, 41, No. 1). I see in this word an Elamite prototype *sanunk*, "queen," differentiated from the well-known Elamite word *sunkik*, "king." Comp. for similar differentiations to form a feminine Sum. *abba*, "old man" (Mongol., *ebu-ghen*), *umma*, "old woman" (Mongol., *eme-ghen*); Sum., *nun*, lord, *nin*, lady.

§ 44. PEISER in "Orient. Litt. Zeit.," Vol. I, p. 13, gives as the value of the sign AMIAUD, Tableau No. 32, added to many proper

names of the contract tablets of Telloh -gi (postposition of genitive). He seems not to know that this sign  is the Neo-Assyrian , and has here the meaning *ikkaru*, "peasant." M. THUREAU DANGIN, in the above-mentioned letter (see § 41), writes to me about this only possible reading and translation: "Je suis absolument de votre avis pour la lecture de .

§ 45. In the contract tablets of the so-called younger kings of Ur (Dungi, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin, Ini-Sin), we meet sometimes a foreign town, read by SCHEIL and THUREAU-DANGIN *Hu-hu-nu-ru* (-ki), var. *Hu-uh-nu-ri*. But HILPRECHT gives a more exact reading, *Hu-hu-tar-ri*, *Hu-uh-tar-ri* ( instead of ). I think this latter the only right one; the town is in Elam, and in the modern *Shuster* we have the direct descendant of the old *Huhtar*.

Another interesting place-name we find in this text (*e.g.*, ARNOLD, "Ancient Babyl. Temple Records," New York, 1896, No. 10, 6b; 13, 4a, 5b), namely *A-dam-dun-ki*, in which I see the modern *Lamlun* in the marshes of Lower Babylonia.

§ 46. The Assyrian word *kakku*, "weapon."

This word, especially used in Assyrian texts (in connection with the god Nin-ib, the lord of Nineveh, § 42), has no Semitic etymology. Therefore it will be not accidental that we meet in Armenian and Kurdish a word *čak* (spoken *tshak*, *chak*) with the same meaning, "weapon;" for *tsha*, originally *ka*, comp. Armenian *tshaman*, *κῆμινον*, Hebrew *kammôn*. That the origin of the word *kakku* is to be sought in the mountains of Northern Mesopotamia, is proved by the contract-tablet of Hana, published by M. THUREAU DANGIN, where we read the proper names *Ikhi-*  *ka-ak-ka*, "my brother is the god *Kakka*;" comp. *I-khi-a-bu* =  and *Ka-ki*  *Da-gan* ("my weapon is Dagan," Dagon being the second god of Khana, Samas the first, and *I-dur-Me-ir* the third).

§ 47.  = *ushumgallu*.

In the great inscription of Teima are named three special gods of Teima,  (Maḥram of the Axumite inscriptions, Bahrâm = Mars of the Arabs, P. DE LAGARDE, "Mitth." I, 108, "Anm.," HOMMEL, "Aufs. u. Abh.," p. 35, note),  and . Now

the second name, שגל, is not שגל (דלבת), *shegal* and *dilbat*, names of Istar, LAGARDE, "Gesammelte Abhandlungen," p. 17), but rather the Babylonian daemon *ushumgallu* (comp. as analogy *simkurri* and *sinkurri*). For another interesting Babylonian word in the Teima inscription, סותא, "stele," *asumîtu*, comp. WINCKLER, "Altoriental. Forschungen," II, p. 76f.

§ 48. *lardu* = spikenard, Hebrew נֶרְדִּי, *νάρδος*.

For the three synonym plant-names *lardu*, *arantu*, and *supâlu*, see MEISSNER, "Suppl.," p. 54*). Of this the first is נֶרְדִּי, the second the Arabic *rand* (also Sabæan *rand*, one of the four species of perfuming essences, MORDTMANN and MULLER, "Sabäische Denkmäler," p. 82), and the third, though שְׂבֹלָה נֶרְדִּי *spica nardi*, nardo stachys (Arabic *sunbul at-tîb*), is similar in sound, perhaps better (because שְׂבֹלָה is Babylonian *shubultu*), Syr. סְפִלּוּלָא (comp. also the proper name *Sapalûlu*, semitized from the Alarodian *Sapa-lulvi*, in analogy of a once existing Babylonian word *saplûlu* by the side of *supâlu*). The Babylonians borrowed the word *lardu*, from an Iranian *nard* (Neo-Persian *lâl*, P. de LAGARDE, "Mitth.," II, 25); the Indians have for *nard* the younger word *naṭa* (LAGARDE) and *nala* (in *nalada*). So we have originally two chief forms:

(a) *nard*: *νάρδος*, נֶרְדִּי, Indian *naṭa*, *nala(da)*;

(b) *lard*: Bab. *lardu*, Neo-Pers. *lâl* (from *lard*; comp. *pâlêz* from *pardês*),

To סְפִלּוּלָא (*supâlu*?), "Aristolochia," comp. too LOEW, "Aram. Pflanzennamen," p. 280, line 7: synonym of *rand*, "laurus," p. 299f) —like Babylonian *supâlu*, held by the Babylonians synonymous with *arantu*.

§ 49. The fourth volume of the "Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets" (edited by Mr. PINCHES for the British Museum) is full of interesting proper-names. Of such of Babylonians I will only cite pl. 34a, line 17, *Sin-na-bi-ish-tim*, inasmuch by this name is proved the reading of the Babylonian Noah, 𐎶𐎵 *napišti*, as *Pir-napišti* or *Samas-napišti* (Pir = Samas), "Sun of the Soul" (like

* Comp. for *arantu*, MEISSNER, p. 17: "a white plant (*i.e.*, with white flowers?), growing on the banks of rivers" (synom. *lardu*). Other synonyms are *ḫasarratu*, *lulûtu*, and *anunûtu* (DELITZSCH, H. W., p. 135).

Sin-napišti, "Moon of the Soul"). But still more remarkable are a large number of Arabic or West-Semitic names, like pl. 9b, line 18, *Su-mu-a-tar*, Sabaean)XoYdH, *Sumhu-watar*.

26b, line 15, *Su-mu-ra-mu*, comp. dY)YdH, *Sumhu-riyâm*

35a, line 27, *Mu-tum-ilu*, מתושלח, מתושאל

1a, line 4, *Zi-im-ri-i-id-da* זמר־ידע, זמר־ידע (Dimri-yada'a)

1a, line 8, *Zi-im-ri-ḥa-am-mu*, זמר־עם (Dimri-'Amm)

1a, line 17, *Zi-im-ri-ḥa-na-ta* (priest of Martu), זמר־ענת (Dimri-'Anat)

2, line 21, *Ya-aš-di-ḥa-am-mu* (יֶשְׁדִּיעַם), comp. T.A. *Yashdâta*.

42a, line 1, *Gu-um-gu-ni-im*, which proves that *Gungunum* (the follower of Ismî-Dagan of Nisin) is only dissimilated from *Gumgunum* and this latter from *Gumgumum* (Arabic *Gumgum*). *Bungunum* seems too a dissimilation of this same Arabic name.

16a, line 24, *Ya-ab-ni-ig-ilu*, comp. *Bingânî-shar-alî*, "my strength (?) is the king of the town" (name of a god, comp. מלקרת, Melkart).

On similar names, their formation and etymology, see the third chapter of my book, "Ancient Hebrew Tradition."

§ 50. *Ahura-mazda* and *Varuna* in Assyrian inscriptions.

Prof. OLDENBERG of Kiel, the celebrated author of the "Life of Buddha" and "Religion of the Veda," gave in the latter book and in a special article, "Varuna and the Adityas" ("Zeitschr. der Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.," 50, 1896, p. 43-68), the following points as highly probable :—

a. The Vedic Mitra and Varuna are originally Sun and Moon; with them are closely connected the seven Adityas, originally the seven planets (Varuna and Mitra being the first two of them).

b. In the same manner the Avestic Ahura-mazda (the high Asura), the first of the seven Amesha-spenta, is originally the moon, and the Amesha-spenta (= Aditya) the seven planets.

c. In the Avesta Ahura and Mithra (originally Moon and Sun) form always a pair, like in the Veda, Varuna and Mitra.

d. All this depends upon Babylonian influence (comp. too the monotheistic and developed character of the Vedic Varuna hymns and of the Avesta with such a Babylonian hymn as the hymn to Sin, W.A.I., IV, pl. 9). To this one may still add the striking analogy of the seven good and the seven evil spirits of the Avesta (Ahura-mazda and the Amesha-spentas, and Angra-mainju and the Daivas) with the seven Babylonian Igigi (the good spirits of Heaven), and the seven Anunnaki (the bad spirits of Earth), both specially named in connection with Sin (or the Moon) in the cited hymn W.A.I., IV, pl. 9, obv. 58 and 60, rev. 30 and 32.

Now the concluding proof for these ingenious remarks of Prof. OLDENBERG is the mention of *Assara-mazas* ("the great Asura") in the Assyrian list of gods, W.A.I., III, pl. 66 (on this discovery of mine, see above, § 40, end), named immediately before the seven Igigi. The latter circumstance makes it certain that only Ahuramazda can be meant by this foreign-sounding god Assara-mazas.

But I have still another proof for the correctness of Prof. OLDENBERG'S assertions. W.A.I., II, 57, 14a, the god $\rightarrow\text{I}$ YY YY (i.e., the Moon*) is called $\rightarrow\text{I}$ E E E or *Ai sha ku-ni-î*, i.e., the moon god of fostering, cherishing (the young cattle in a hurdle). The ideogram E E E (i.e., twice E E , "ox" in an enclosure, $\square$) means "hurdle, stable," *kabû*; in this meaning it had the pronunciation *marun* (so DELITZSCH, H. W., 578) or *barun* (BRÜNNOW, No. 10242), and *barim* (DELITZSCH, H. W., 219, n. 6), and *gairu* (the latter being perhaps a mistake for E E E , which has the value *garim*). So, $\rightarrow\text{I}$ YY YY (or the Moon) was called by his name *Marun* (pronounced *Varun*), "the god of the hurdle or cattle," with which may be compared W.A.I., IV, pl. 9, rev. 3 and 4 (hymn to Sin, the Moon god):

kātu amat-ka tarbašu u supuru ushamri

thou, thy word makes fat the stable and the hurdle.

It is remarkable that the only religious text in which we meet with the god $\rightarrow\text{I}$ *Marun*, is an exorcism of the seven evil spirits, namely, W.A.I., IV (2nd ed.), pl. 16, lines 31 and 32:

* That this deity either as masc. (for its masculine rôle comp. "Anc. Heb. Trad.," p. 113f. and "Expository Times," 1898, Vol. X, p. 144), or as fem. (then the wife of the Sun-god) is *always* nothing else but the moon (as also the well-known goddess *Gula*); I possess now a whole series of proofs, which I shall give in a coming article.

(Sumer.) $\text{𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭} -bi$, D.P. *Dul-azag-ga*, D.P. *Marun ashnân mu-un-si-iš a-an*

(Semitic) in the house of the god D. and the god M. (variant. of their priest or servant M.) they are full (*scil.* of corn, Sum. *ashnan*).

Dul-azagga is otherwise the Sun-god (comp. *Samas*, the god of the seventh month, *dul-azagga*), or the god *Nabû* of *Dilmun* (island of *Bahrein*), W.A.I., II, 54, 71g, which latter is called also *Shu-ul*, "the fulfiller" (W.A.I., II, 54, 75g) or $\text{𒀭𒀭} \text{𒀭} -shû-ul$ (making ready the sceptre or the style). In W.A.I., III, 69, 63, this name D.P. $\text{𒀭𒀭} shû-ul$ has the gloss *Mi-it-ra*,* so that we are allowed to translate as a variation of *Dul-azagga* and *Marun* in the above cited line :

"In the house of *Mitra* and *Marun* they (the seven) are full of corn,"

or simply, too :

"In the house of Sun and Moon they (the seven) are full of corn."

It is clear that these gods *Mitra* and *Marun* (*Varun*) are the same as the Vedic *Mitra* and *Varuna*. Concerning *Assara-mazas* I should like to remark in closing this paragraph, that we have here the same older pronounciation of Eranian words as in the Kassitic *Surias*, "sun" (later *Ahura* and *Hvarya*, but comp. Sanskrit *Asura* and *suria*), which is of the highest importance for the history of the Aryan languages. In the same Kassitic period, between 1700 and 1200, B.C., I suppose, was borrowed by the Assyrians the Iranian god *Assara-mazas*.

* JENSEN, Z.A., II, 195, note 2. For *surias*, comp. my "Hethiter und Skythen;" Prag. 1898, p. 13, No. 9.



ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

The variant *Hu-KAS-ka-a* of the common *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a* or *Hu-ub-uš-ki-a* seems to demand the value *buš* or *puš* for the sign , KAS. This is not given in Brünnow's "Sign List," p. 196. It seems to be new.

In proper names the frequently occurring *HI-IM* is not to be read *Ti-im* as if connected with *țemu*, "order" or "command." As variants abundantly show, it is to be read *Tab-šar*. The *šaru*, which occurs here, is not the *šāru* which means "wind," but is derived from *šaru*, a verb frequently found in the contracts, with the sense to "speak," "plead." Hence, for example,    is to be read *Tab-Šar-Ištar*, and means, "Good is the speech of Ištar," that is, her intercession with the highest gods is all prevailing.

Some compounds of Adunu or Adonai deserve consideration. They seem to me new. Aduna-iz var. Aduna-izi, Adunu-apal-iddin, Adunu-šaddu, Aduni-țuri, Aduniḫa (= Aduni-iḫa, "Adonis is alive"?) are all to be found in Assyrian deeds and documents.

Some compounds of the divine name *Šûr*, which occurs on the Aramaic Zengîrlî Inscription, line 3, may be of interest. In cuneiform script it is written  , *Šûr*. We have *Šûr-ibni*, *Šûr-ma'a-di*, *Šûr-šum-iddin*, as proper names.

The god *Šalm*, who appears on the Taimâ inscription, is represented in Assyrian contracts by  , , or   . Compounds of this divine name are *Šalmu-aḫê* (for the form compare *Bél-aḫê*), and *Šalmu-šar-iḫbi*. The latter is the name of an eponym, after B.C. 667.

The element *Gil-* in proper names seems to belong to that widespread pre-Semitic race, who are also pre-Greek, in Asia Minor. In Mitanni, from the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, we have *Gilia* and *Giluḫepa*. In the Cilician native names we have *Gilion*, *Gillion*, *Giallis* (see Sachau, Z.A., VII, p. 98f.). In Assyrian times we have *Giluši*, in later Babylonian times *Gilû*. We may compare *Kili-* and *Kali-*

in the names of Kili-Tešup and Kali-Tešup, kings of Kommagene. If this be a fair comparison, we may assume that Gil- in compounds requires a divine name after it. When therefore we meet with the name Kili-gugu, we may take Gugu or Gog to be a divine name. So too Ḫepa may be a divinity worshipped in Mitanni. The other name Tadu-ḫepa can bring nothing against this. So too Gil-gamiš may be a witness for a divinity Gamiš. If so, possibly Gar-gamiš may be the same as Kar-Gamiš, "the stronghold of Gamiš." Has Gamiš any family relation to Chemosh?

A singular name, Uarbīs, occurs as that of a witness in Assyrian contracts in B.C. 667. The same name was borne by an Assyrian viceroy in Egypt. A variant of the name appears to be Ubar-bis, indicating that the first element is Uwar. Ubara seems to have had the meaning of "servant" or "devotee;" *cf.* the name Ubara-Tutu, where Tutu is a byename of Marduk. This suggests that Bis, or Biš, or Biz was a divinity. Another variant of the name gives Uar-meri, suggesting that Meri, or possibly Šipri, was a byename of Bis.

March 6th, 1899.

C. H. W. J.

DISCOVERIES AT KARNAK.

LUXOR, *March 15th, 1899.*

M. Legrain, who is repairing the columns of the temple of Karnak and strengthening the foundations of the walls, has made some discoveries this winter which throw an important light on ancient Egyptian history. One monument brought to light by him states that Usertesen I of the XIIth dynasty was a descendant of Antef-Aa of the XIth dynasty; another shows that Hor-em-heb of the XVIIIth dynasty was a high official under Tut-ankh-Amen; while certain sculptured blocks of sandstone represent Thothmes III conducting the funeral of Hatshepsu, and acting as pilot to her funerary boat, and thus dispose of the theory that there was ill-feeling between the Pharaoh and the queen who preceded him.

A. H. SAYCE.

YANOEM OF THE MENEPHTAH STELE.

March 5th, 1899.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

As a rule the pages of our *Proceedings* are restricted to original articles, but in the case of important papers relating to the most interesting matters "of Biblical Archæology," a summary of what has appeared in a foreign journal may sometimes be worthy of a place.

This I think the case in regard to an article in the *Revue Archéologique*,* by M. Daressy upon the site of the Yanoem, of the Menephtah Stele, which mentions the Israelites. The site was by M. Naville assimilated to Jamnia near Ghezer and Askelon, because, I believe, Seti I mentions a Yanoem near Tyre, as does Strabo,† a Jamnia.

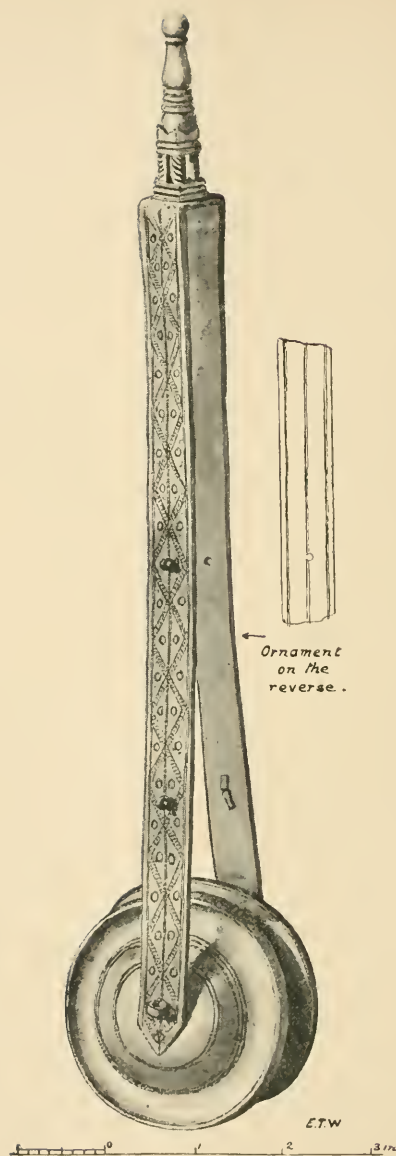
M. Daressy considers that the name upon the stele cannot fairly be made to read Jamnia, but is more correctly Yanoem. He thinks the Book of Joshua indicates its place to us in the "Janum" of the authorised version of chapter xv, 53. This is placed in a list of mountain towns of the tribe of Judah, and connected with Beth-tapuah, that is Tefhuh, to the west of Hebron, whilst Yanoem itself is by the Palestine Exploration Fund map placed at Beni Naïm on the mountain, east of Hebron.

To capture this Yanoem the Egyptians must have passed Hebron, and it is at the latter place M. Daressy thinks they encountered and conquered the Israël of Menephtah's text. He quotes the many passages of Genesis relating the residence of Abraham at Hebron, and his descendants' sepulchres being at Machpelah; also the wish of Joseph to bury his father in the ancestral tomb, a deed he would not have performed had no Israelites remained at Mamre-Hebron to guard the graves of their patriarchs.

It is these Israelites, at Hebron, over whom Menephtah triumphs in his record of the Syrian war, and not those who, probably subsequent to the events therein recorded, emigrated with Moses and Aaron from the Delta.

JOSEPH OFFORD.

* *Revue Archéologique*, October, 1898, page 263.† See *Proceedings*, 1898, page 55.



BRONZE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT IN THE COLLECTION
OF F. G. HILTON PRICE, Esq., Dir.S.A.

THE TOMB OF PEPI-ANKH χ HUA.STRANGE HATHOR,
EL AYAB.

16th March, 1899.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I have just received the January *Proceedings*, with Misses Broderick and Morton's article on the tomb of Pepi-ankh χ hua near Sherona, which agrees closely with copies and plans of the tomb which I made in June, 1894; but as it is a great waste of time recopying, I venture to ask you to make known to the readers of the *Proceedings*, that I have copied in 1893 and 1894 the Speos at Babain near Minieh, and every monument I could find between Gebel et Tayr and Beni Hassan, including every tomb at Telmeh, where I excavated for the Guizeh Museum, and Kum el Ahmar; and as I was eight months at work, I do not think I have left much, at any rate above ground. I had intended to publish the whole, and have the plates drawn, but pressure of Government work has prevented me up to the present. This notice may, I hope, save other students spending time over work which has been already recorded.

Believe me, yours truly,

J. WILLOUGHBY FRASER.

EGYPTIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.

31, LANSDOWNE ROAD,
CLAPHAM ROAD, S.W.

April 11th, 1899.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The accompanying drawing is one I made of an object in Mr. Hilton Price's collection, which he kindly lent me for that purpose; he has also given me permission to send it to you with the object of publishing it in the *Proceedings* if it is thought to be of sufficient interest. To me it is most interesting, as showing the method of using the small bronze cymbals with a hole in the middle, which are fairly common, and are frequently called "model cymbals." By some they were supposed to have been strung on a

cord with beads between and so rattled together, or to have had a leather or string loop and used after the manner of castanets, or that they were mounted on tambourines as in the present day, but this very perfect specimen at once decides at least one of their uses. It is made of bronze, the straps being flexible, and the cymbals are loosely fixed one on each strap by means of a pin with a loop in front ; there are two smaller loops on each strap and the ball at the top is pierced. These loops were probably used for fixing tassels or some such ornament to further decorate the instrument ; as you will see from the drawing, one side is much more ornamented than the other, but the cymbals are similar. As regards its date, I think it must be late Roman, judging by the little temple at the top ; at first I thought it might be Coptic, but cannot see what they could have used such a thing for. Mr. Hilton Price has another in his collection, but not in such a good condition, it has also been broken and mended ; there is a broken one in the British Museum. These three are the only ones I have heard of, I do not think there is one in the Gizeh Museum. I believe I am correct in saying that all three were found together ; they are all the same pattern and decorated in a similar manner.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

E. TOWRY WHYTE.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 2nd May, 1899, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :

F. LEGGE, Esq. : "Recent Discoveries at Abydos and Negadah."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenon im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.

————— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.

————— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.

AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.

————— A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.

————— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.

BAETHIGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.

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BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.

BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmäler. Vol. I-III (Brugsch).

————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)

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HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.

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- KREBS, F., De Chnemothis nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.
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- LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
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- MÜLLER, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.
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- WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Ninive et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.
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- Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.
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- WESSELEY, C., Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum.
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- ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hilfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XXI. TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

Third Meeting, May 2nd, 1899.

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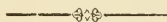
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TWENTY-NINTH SESSION, 1899.

Fourth Meeting, 2nd May, 1899.

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From the Author:—Rev. P. A. C. de Cara, S.J. *Del Lazio e dei suoi Popoli primitivi* Discorso. Fol. Roma. 1899.

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From the Author:—Richard Pietschmann. *Theodorus Tabennesiota und die sahidische Uebersetzung des Osterfestbriefs des Athanasius vom Jahre 367*. 8vo. 1899.

From the Royal University of Upsala:—

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Upsala. Band V. 8vo. Upsala. 1897.
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Moab. 8vo. Leipzig. 1896.
- Samuel Andreas Fries. Den Israelitiska Kultens Centralisation.
8vo. Upsala. 1895.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting held on the 7th March, 1899:—

Miss Bertha Porter, 16, Russell Square, W.C.

Henry R. Howat, 99, Milbrae Road, Langside.

A Paper was read by F. Legge, entitled, "Recent Discoveries at Abydos and Nagadeh." It will be printed, with illustrations, in the next Part of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Sir H. H. Howorth, Mr. Boscawen, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. Legge, the Secretary, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

NOTES ON SCARABS.

BY G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER.

In Volume XIX, p. 292, of the *Proceedings*, Mr. Griffith gave some interesting notes on the scarabs in the collection of Mr. Ward of Belfast. At the time when I read them it struck me that it was a pity he was unable to give us facsimilies of the scarabs which he reads Shesha, for comparison with those of Māa-ab-ra, &c.

With this view I have made drawings of various examples of these and similar names, and have added some notes and facsimiles of a certain number of scarabs from my collection, which, on account of the names recorded on them, are worth notice.

Mr. Griffith appears not to have tried to show evidence in support of his reading Shesha, beyond saying that Pepy's name is invariably written on the monuments , whilst the scarabs in question are almost as invariably written , though, as a rule, the š sign has not got the cross strokes on the scarabs. For an example, which, however, has the cross strokes, see Plates, No. 1.

It appears to me that it is of considerable importance to settle the reading, as several theories have been founded on the reading Pepi by Prof. Petrie, and adopted from him by his disciples, if I may so term them.

With the object of supporting the new reading I have put together the following notes:—

During the ten years in which I have been collecting scarabs, a very large number of the Shesha or Pepi type have passed through my hands. As they are, on the whole, common, it is remarkable that during this time I do not remember ever seeing one whose provenance was said to be Sakharah or thereabouts, whereas many have come from Tell el Yahoudieh, from whence, curiously, the majority of Khian and like scarabs also appear to come. In my own collection I find that the examples of Khian, Yaqebher, and

the new king Semken, all of which appear in the Plates, came from there. At the same time, they are not limited to Tell el Yahoudieh, for I purchased a fine Khian of the  type from Mahomet Mohassib at Luxor. Unfortunately, it was afterwards stolen from me, and found its way into the Museum at Guizeh (Plates, No. 10). During the same visit I bought a Shesha from a Sabak digger near the Ramasseum, and saw a fine Khian scarab with the cartouche of User-n-ra in Mr. Murch's collection, which he had obtained in Luxor. I enter into these details to show that the scarabs of this period are widely distributed, but of the numbers which I have seen, not one appears to have come from Sakharah, where Pepi was buried, and from whence one would naturally expect them.

If then we assume, for the sake of argument, that the scarabs commonly attributed to Pepy may, as Mr. Griffith has suggested, belong to another king, we get the following points which are worth notice :

First, let it be noted that Prof. Petrie has founded his theory of the date of the scroll pattern on scarabs on the reading of this name as Pepi ; secondly, he has attributed the kings Māa-ab-ra, S-kha-n-ra &c., Khian, and Yapeqher to the gap between the VIth and XIth dynasties, on the evidence of the similarity of the styles of their scarabs, dwelling especially on the scroll patterns. If however we leave out the so-called Pepi scarabs, and take the scroll on other scarabs, it seems clear that up till the time of Unas, one of Pepi's predecessors, the scroll pattern does not appear. The Unas scarabs are common, but are, so far as I know, invariably plain, having merely the name without ornamentation of any kind. I omit the scarabs of Kaka and Dad-ka-ra, of which Prof. Petrie gives examples with scroll pattern. I have never considered them as contemporaneous with the kings whose names they appear to bear (Petrie, S., pl. II, 40, 48). Reaching the VIth dynasty, the earliest scarabs known seem to be those of Pepi Rameri I. These are plain, without ornament or scroll. Then we come to the disputed Pepi II, and following them we have the scarabs of Ra-en-ka, Māa-ab-ra, Kha-user-ra, which Prof. Petrie has assigned to the period between the VIth and XIth dynasty, mainly, I understand, on the grounds of his identification of the uncertain scarabs with the name of Pepi II. These must, therefore, be taken to be also uncertain. When we come to the XIth dynasty, the earliest example given is a scarab of Anentuf (Petrie, S.,

pl. V, No. 147), (Plates, No. 5), still of the plain type. Then Mentuhtp the same. I pass over the Antef IV scarabs; they have no scrolls, but appear to me of doubtful attribution.

Reaching the XIIth dynasty, of the examples shown by Prof. Petrie, and drawn, as he says, from the principal collections in the world, we get some idea of the comparative rarity of the scroll pattern round kings' names at any rate, even then, viz. :—

Amenemhat I, out of 8 examples figured, with scroll pattern, 0,
Usertasen I, out of 32 examples figured, with scroll pattern, 3,
Amenemhat II, out of 19 examples figured, with scroll pattern, 1,
Usertasen II, out of 10 examples figured, with scroll pattern, 2,
Usertasen III, out of 24 examples figured, with scroll pattern, 1,
Amenemhat III, out of 16 examples figured, with scroll pattern, 0,
Amenemhat IV, out of 3 examples figured, with scroll pattern, 1.

So that up to the end of the XIIth dynasty scarabs bearing the names of kings in scrolls appear to have been rare; at the same time I do not mean to imply that scroll scarabs were not common during the XIIth dynasty, as large numbers of about that time were found at Kahun, but of these the majority were merely patterns and had not names inside the scroll, and of the kings' names found few were surrounded by scrolls.

Hence I think it is clear, firstly, that the scroll pattern in any form is not earlier than, say, the end of the XIth dynasty; secondly, that it does not appear round kings' names in the XIth dynasty, and but sparingly in the XIIth. We know from the work at Kahun, on a practically undisturbed XIIth dynasty site, that scarabs bearing scroll ornamentation were common in the time of the builder of the town, Usertasen II, or perhaps we ought to say from his time on, but of these the greater number were only patterns, not even inscribed with the names of private persons, and as I have tried to show, in the case of royal scarabs, comparatively rare.

So that I should be inclined to suggest that the "rage" for scroll ornamentation arose in the middle of the XIIth dynasty, and continued in greater or less force until the New Empire, scroll ornamentation being rarely found afterwards. (See Plates, No. 23 showing an example of the rare survival with the name of Rameses II.)

Thus, to sum up, we should get the scroll ornament used first on merely plain scarabs, then possibly round private names, and finally sparingly round kings' names until the time of the XIIIth dynasty, when we get fine examples in Sebekhtp I and Khonsu, wife of

EGYPTIAN SCARABS.



St. br. F. coll.
Tell el Yahudieh.



St. wht.
F. coll.



St. wht.
F. coll.



St. wht. F. coll.
Tell el Yahudieh.



St. br. F. coll.



St. gr. gone wht.
F. coll.



St. wht. F. coll.
Tell el Yahudieh.



St. wht. F. coll.
Tell el Yahudieh.



St. wht. F. coll.
Tell el Yahudieh.



St. gr. gone wht.
Guizeh.



St. gr. F. coll.
Tell el Yahudieh.



St. bl. gone wht.
F. coll.



St. wht. F. coll.
Kom el Ahmar
Minia.



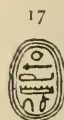
St. br.
F. coll.
Tell el Y.



St. wht.
F. coll.
Tell el Y.



St. gr.
Fraser coll.



St. gr.
Fraser coll.

Sebekhtp V (Petrie, S., pl. X and XII), and from the XIIIth dynasty to the New Empire, to which period I should like to attribute Shasha, Māa-ab-ra, Khian, &c., appearing round kings' name frequently.

Leaving the scroll, there is another form of ornamentation often found, in which the name is written, with or without a cartouche, between two vertical lines.

This "vertical line" form enables us to divide the scarabs with which we are dealing into two groups:—

Group A, in which the names occur both in scroll pattern and in vertical line pattern.

Group B, in which only the vertical lines are used.

Taking the names in this classification, we find under Group A—

Shasha, commonly called Pepi, both forms common (Petrie, S., pl. III, 69-86) and (Plates, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6).

Māa-ab-ra, not rare in vertical line form, but generally scroll (Petrie, S., pl. IV, 110, 111, 112, &c.) (Plates, Nos. 12, 13, 14).

Khian, in the  form of the name, always vertical type I believe, and one example of the cartouche, User-n-ra, arranged this way from Mr. Murch's collection (Petrie, Hist., I, p. 119). (Petrie, S., pl. XXV, 728, 729) and (Plates, Nos. 8, 9, 10).

Semgen, only known so far by one example in continuous scroll pattern (Plates, No. 7).

Yapeqher, of the few examples known, one, Murch collection, is vertical line type; one in the Louvre is continuous scroll, and the example from my collection is vertical line (Petrie, Hist., I, p. 122). (Plates, No. 11).

Uazed, another rare name, of which we have two vertical line form and one continuous scroll (Petrie, S., pl. XII, 348, 549, and Hist., I, p. 121).

Group B, in which the names occur only between vertical lines.

Kha-user-ra, *Āa-htp-ra*, *S-kha-n-ra*, *Nebi*, *Āa* (Petrie, S., pl. V, 125-145), (Plates, Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22).

Here we come to a real difficulty. In Group B only one of the names is really important for or against our theory, and that one is *Nebi*. The scarabs bearing this name are very rare. Prof. Petrie figures, I believe, the only legible example (Petrie, S., pl. V, 125); my example (Plates, No. 18) is blundered, but in his *History* Prof. Petrie has shown that there is reason to suppose that *Nebi* is the

same as the king Nefer-ka-ra Nebi, whose name occurs in the Abydos list of the kings between the VIth and XIth dynasties (Petrie, *Hist.*, I, 108-113). If then the scarabs bearing this name belong to this king, and are contemporaneous, they are so identically the style of Group B, that all the names in this group would have to be referred to the same period as Nebi, and the Group A in which the vertical lines are used alternately, we may say, with the scroll, would in all probability have to follow suit.

Against this I have tried to show previously that the scroll pattern does not occur, at any rate, until the end of the XIth dynasty, and that round kings' names it appears but rarely until the XIIIth or XIVth dynasties; hence it would be difficult to attribute the names in Group A to a period anterior to the XIth dynasty. There seems to me to be also another point, viz., Nebi's scarabs are very rare, and in most of those known the name is blundered. Now it seems more probable that blunders would occur in writing a king's name some centuries after his death, than if the scarabs were contemporaneous. Finally, if they are not contemporaneous, they offer no good proof for dating the other scarabs in Groups A and B, but should rather be dated themselves by the majority. With regard to the Shasha or Pepi scarabs, if some of them, say the examples (Petrie, S., pl. III, 84, 85, or Plates, Nos. 2, 6) be compared with my examples of Māa-ab-ra (Plates, No. 13) it will be seen that in style they are almost identically the same, yet it has never been suggested that Māa-ab-ra belongs to the VIth dynasty, and since it is hardly possible to include either this king or the remainder of the Groups A and B in the VIth dynasty, it seems to me more probable that both groups belong to the gap between the XIIIth dynasty and the New Empire, rather than to that between the VIth and XIth dynasties. Group B may be perhaps a dynasty or part of one, the kings of which belonged to a comparatively short period, which might account for the similarity of their scarabs. There are two scarabs of a queen whose name may possibly read Shāhashuta or 'irshuta. They seem to be of this period, and both came from Tell el Yahoudieh curiously enough (Petrie, S., pl. IV, 100, and Plates, No. 4).

As to the vexed question whether Khian belongs to the Hyksos period or not, I cannot add to what has been already written on the subject, and can only remark that the new name Semqen from Tell el Yahoudieh is on a scarab of identically the same type with Khian's, and must belong to the same period, whatever that period

EGYPTIAN SCARABS.

18



St. gr.
F. coll.

19



St. gr. gone wht.
F. coll.

20



St. wht.
F. coll.

21



St. bl. gone wht.
F. coll.

22



St. wht.
F. coll.

23



St. wht. F. coll.
Tell el Yahudieh.

24



Cowroid.
Soft Schist. Wht.
F. coll.

25



St. gr. F. coll.
Dashur.

26



St. wht. F. coll.
Tell Basta.

27



St. gr. gone wht.
F. coll.

28



St. br.
F. coll.

29



Schist, yellow.
F. coll.

30



St. wht.
F. coll.

31



St. gr. F. coll.
Abnub.

32



Pot. bl.
F. coll.

33



St. bl.
F. coll.

34



Seal, bronze.
F. coll.

may be. For the rest, the Khian type of scarabs are not like those which we know of Apepa. I am further inclined to read the whole of the scarabs figured (Petrie, S., pl. XXV, 721-725, 727) as Apepa, as they do not resemble the very clear examples of Khian-User-n-ra which I have seen, one of which was in Mr. Murch's excellent collection, and my own example (Plates, No. 9), which closely resembles his, also example figured (Petrie, *Hist.*, I, 119), from the Boulac album.

My own examples of Apepa (Plates, Nos. 16, 17) are small plain scarabs of steatite with the original green glaze showing in the letters. One of them is blundered, having a *men* sign added in the middle.

The scarab shown beside them (Plates, No. 15) is an unknown name, and has a very similar appearance, but I have not ventured on a reading for it.

Following the above, in the Plates, Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, are examples of the S-kha-n-ra, Aa-htp-ra type (see also Petrie, S., pl. V, 125-145). The last figured in the Plates; No. 22 is blundered, and it is almost impossible to say what it is intended for.

The remainder of the scarabs shown belong to various periods, and are either very rare or unique.

No. 23 is an example of the rare survival of the scroll pattern after the beginning of the New Empire; it bears the name of Ramesis II (*cf.* Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, p. 23).

No. 24. S-ment-ab-ra. This is a cowroid, a shape generally supposed not to be earlier than the XIIth dynasty. The name is unknown, but recalls the name of Amenemhat I, S-htp-ab-ra, and both Nos. 79 and 108 in the Turin papyrus are said to begin Ra-smen

No. 25. Fu-ab-ra. This king's tomb was found by de Morgan in the enclosure of the southern pyramid of Dashûr, next to the tomb of the princess Nub-htp-ta-khrudet. His name is read in the XIIIth dynasty in the Turin papyrus by Prof. Petrie (*Hist.*, I, 206 and 208). The scarab seems to name two pyramids, Men-nefer and Men-ankh. There is said to be one other scarab of this king in a private collection in France.

No. 26. Nehesi, the royal son. This is also rare, three or four examples only being known (Petrie, S., pl. XII, 339). The scarab shown in the plates comes from Tell Bastah.

Nos. 27 and 28. The hereditary chieftainess, the royal daughter, Nefert-anket Ra-n-nub; in the first example the *Ra* has been omitted,

and I am not quite clear about the name. These are the only scarabs known to me of this lady, who probably belongs to the beginning of the XIIth dynasty, and must have been a great personage by her titles.

Nos. 29 and 30. Dad-nefer-ra, whose personal name we know, from a fragment found at G. belain, to have been *Du-du-mes* (Daressy, *Rec.*, xiv, 26). In 1893 his name was found at El Kab by Prof. Sayce, and later on by myself and Mr. Blackburn (*P.S.B.A.*, June, 1893). In mentioning him then I wavered as to whether he should be attributed to the VIth dynasty or to the period of the XIIIth and XIVth. Professor Sayce, however, tells me that he has re-visited the spot, and has convinced himself that the inscription belongs to some time shortly after the VIth dynasty, about the VIIth or VIIIth; that, further, a portion of the inscription has been erased, and the name of the Theban quarter of Kha-m-uas added at a later period. Scarabs of this king are not uncommon—one in Prof. Petrie's collection, one in the Museum at Guizeh, formerly in my collection, and three in my collection at present.

No. 5. Anentuf. One other example appears to be known in the collection of the late Dr. Grant (Petrie, *S.*, pl. V, 147). Its interest consists in its being about the earliest scarab of the XIth dynasty known to us, and it should be noticed that both examples are plain, without scroll or ornamentation.

No. 31. The divine wife Ankh-ta. On the back is a sacred eye instead of a scarab, very delicately and deeply cut, in order to be inlaid with pastes of various colours. Its provenance was Abnub opposite Asyût, where the remains of a temple of the XIIth dynasty were found, and a cemetery was pillaged by natives some years ago. By the title and style this belongs apparently to the beginning of the XVIIth dynasty; the title is the same as that of Nefert-ari, wife of Aahmes I.

No. 32. The hereditary chief, superintendent of horses, the royal son Pa-ra-her-āment-uf. This is rather a rough pottery scarab, with pale blue glaze. The name recalls the names in the judicial papyrus of Rameses III (Lieblein, *Names*, I, 986), and of the princes of this period (*Livre des Rois*, p. 82, 83).

No. 33. Uah-ka-ra, Bakenrenf. This is, I believe, a very rare scarab, and one of the very few remains which we know of this king, the only native ruler of the XXIVth dynasty (*cf.* Wiedemann, *Hist.*, 578, *et seq.*; Petrie, *S.*, pl. LVII, 1825).

35



St. gr. gone white.
Fraser coll.

EGYPTIAN SCARABS.

36



Bl. on white.
Petrie coll.

39



Fraser coll.

37



Bl. gr. gone yellow.
Univ. College coll.

G. W. Fraser, del.

38



St. gr. gone wht
Fraser coll.

W. L. N.

No. 34. The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of works, the deceased, Pa-kha-mer. This is a bronze seal; the name is not known, and it is difficult to locate it. It may possibly be one of the petty kings of Lower Egypt who opposed Piankhi the Ethiopian.

No. 39. Amenhtp III. I bought this fine scarab some years ago in Cairo. Unfortunately its provenance is unknown. Amenhtp III seems to have been the only king who made use of scarabs for recording the events of his reign. The so-called historical scarabs are all large, and large scarabs seem to have come into fashion during his reign, and to have ceased again with his death. Plates, *Nos.* 35, 36, 37, 38, show the commoner forms of the intermediate size. Some of the titles are interesting. To return to the larger historical scarabs, only one is figured in the plate, but a few notes about them may be interesting.

The king has come down to us with the reputation of being not only a great conqueror and builder, but also a great sportsman, and he seems to have thought, not unnaturally, that it was worth recording his feats in this line, so that we find the commonest of the big scarabs is that known as the "lion hunt" (I) which tells how he slew 102 lions before he was twenty years old. It is dated in the tenth year of his reign, and is followed probably in point of date by (II), which is undated, recording his titles and those of his wife Theii, giving the names of her father Iuâa and her mother Thuâa, and stating that the boundaries of the kingdom reached Kareii on the south and Naharaina on the north.

The next (III), dated in the tenth year of his reign, makes mention of his marriage with another Syrian lady, Kirgipa, daughter of the prince of Naharaina.

In (IV) dated in the king's eleventh year, we are told of a great tank made for his wife Theii, and to these we must now add (V), my recent acquisition, which appears to be of an earlier date than any of the others, being apparently dated in the second year of his reign, and which I have called, from the matter contained in it, "the hunting of the wild cattle."

With regard to the relative rarity of these scarabs—

(I) Seems to be common; thirty examples or more are known, and I have myself had three besides the one now in my collection.

(II) Twelve or possibly more are known; a good specimen in my collection.

(III) Rare; only two or three known.

(IV) Very rare ; one, or at most two, have appeared.

(V) Is, up to the present, apparently unique.

For the general sense of this interesting document I am indebted to Mr. Griffith, and must here note that he had only a photograph to write from.

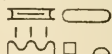
“ Year two, under the Majesty of (Neb-ma-ra) (Amenhtp heq uas) giving life, and the royal wife Theii living like Ra.

Marvel done by His Majesty. Came one for to tell His Majesty.

Behold there are wild cattle upon the desert in the territory of the city? of Sheta? ; His Majesty voyaged going down stream in the royal boat (the) “ Kha-m-māat ” in the night time ; took a good route and reached in safety the land of Sheta in the morning. His Majesty mounted upon a horse, his whole army following him. The captains and the rank and file of the whole army in its entirety and the children with them were commanded to watch the wild cattle. Behold, His Majesty ordered that they should surround these wild cattle in an enclosure with a hedge. Ordered His Majesty to count the whole of these cattle, account of them 170 cattle, account of what His Majesty took in hunting in that day 56 cattle. His Majesty waited four days [to give] spirit (?) to his horses. His Majesty went upon a horse these cattle His Majesty captured 20 cattle [Total] 85 wild cattle ”

The inscription is carefully cut ; the glaze has been green. The back of the scarab is very much weathered, and the king's cartouche has been cut on both sides of it between the legs of the insect. This cutting is larger and rougher, and seems to have been done after the back had been injured.

Of the points of interest in the inscription itself, the first is the date, as up to now the earliest mention we have of the great queen Theii is in the tenth year of the king's reign, which would be when he was about twenty-six years old (Petrie, *Hist.*, II, 179), so that in the second year of his reign he would be, it seems, about sixteen years old, and was already married.

The second point of interest is the name of the place where the hunting took place. Mr. Griffith reads Sheta ; in one of the two places where it is mentioned it is written  it seems. I do not think the name has occurred elsewhere ; it is difficult to know where it was. We read that the king went down stream, that is

to the north, and that the journey took a night, the destination being reached in the morning. Where he started from is not mentioned, but supposing it was Memphis, a night's journey would bring him somewhere in the Wady Tumulât about Tell el Yahoudieh by the Nile, and then by canal, or if he followed the main stream of the Nile, he would reach say Beni Sulamah in the Wardan district on the west bank of the Nile. Both these places may have had marshes and wild semi-marsh land near them at this period, where wild cattle would be likely to congregate. Except the Fayûm, there is no place that I can think of in Upper Egypt where one can imagine there were ever wild cattle. It does not seem that Amenhtp III was ever himself in Syria, so that the district named must be sought for in Egypt proper. We learn further the name of another of the king's state boats or dahabeahs as we should call them now. In his eleventh year, at the ceremony of the opening of the great lake at Zaru, he sailed in the "Beauties of Aten." This time we have the Kha-m-mâat, which may mean the "Glories of truth."

The method of hunting seems to have been to have an army of beaters, the principal personages being on horseback. They rounded up the cattle, driving them into an enclosure or kraal where they could be secured, very much as cattle are herded on a ranch in our days, an operation which is neither so easy or so safe as its sounds.



A NEW BABYLONIAN KING OF THE PERIOD OF THE
FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON; WITH INCIDENT-
TAL REFERENCES TO IMMERUM AND ANMANILA.

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

The large number of tablets of the time of the first dynasty of Babylon has revealed to us many things of which we should otherwise have been absolutely ignorant. First and foremost, they let a flood of light upon the manners and customs, and the private life of the people of Babylonia at the period (about 2200 B.C.) to which they refer. They show us the mixed nature of the population at the time, and testify to the existence of one more language to add to the confusion of tongues that prevailed there. They give us many historical events in their numerous colophon-dates, and last, but not least, they furnish us with the names of kings not given in the canons. Incidentally, they yield also valuable information upon the names of the people (which are very numerous), and the legal forms in use, both in Akkadian and Babylonian.

A very interesting little text of this period is contained on a small tablet belonging to the Rev. J. P. Way, who has very kindly given me the permission to publish it. The size of the original is $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. high by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide—that is, about the size of the photograph of the reverse accompanying this paper. The tablet is of baked clay, and is inscribed with fifteen lines of writing in archaic characters, closely resembling in form those of the time of the earlier rulers of the first dynasty of Babylon. As is usual in such documents, the tops of the characters are in most cases ranged against ruled lines to insure necessary neatness, the lines not so provided with a guide being the first, the line on the edge, the first, second, and fourth of the reverse, and the last line of all. The omission of the guiding line in these cases is due to the fact that the line in question was near the edge of the tablet, which was naturally considered as a

OBV. 田 田 田 田
 田 田 田 田
 3 田 田 田 田
 田 田 田 田
 6 田 田 田 田
 田 田 田 田
 EDGE 田 田 田 田
 REV. 田 田 田 田
 田 田 田 田
 12 田 田 田 田
 田 田 田 田
 田 田 田 田
 15 田 田 田 田
 田 田 田 田

TABLET BELONGING TO THE REV. J. P. WAY, M.A.

sufficient guide, and to the custom that prevailed of leaving out the guiding lines when the line of writing began with the word corresponding with "son of," the ruled guiding line being often used, seemingly, to indicate the beginning of a paragraph.

	TRANSCRIPTION.	TRANSLATION.
	Âš gin ku-babbar.	<i>Six shekel of silver.</i>
	maša-bi aša gin aša še-ta	<i>Its interest one shekel and one grain</i>
3	ki Til-lum	<i>from Tillu.</i>
	Ur-ra-ga-še-ur-ra	<i>Ur-ra-gaše-urra.</i>
	du Nu-ur-i-li-šu	<i>son of Nûr-ili-šu</i>
6	šu-ba-an-ti	<i>has received.</i>
	iti Gu-si-si	<i>(In the) month Iyyar.</i>
	šum-mu-ta	<i>it is to be given (back).</i>
9	Igi Ku(?) -za-lum	<i>(Done) before Kuzalu,</i>
	du A-ḫu-wa-qar	<i>son of Aḫu-waqar.</i>
	igi Arad-Sin	<i>before Arad-Sin,</i>
12	du Ma-lik-ba-ni	<i>son of Malik-bani ;</i>
	igi Šu-gu-ya-tu-	<i>before Šuguyatu.</i>
	um	
	† Mu Ma-na-ma-	<i>Year of Maṇamaltel, the king.</i>
15	al-te-el šarru	

1. It is noteworthy that the Akk. word for "silver," *kubabbar*, contains the same element as is found in the word for "gold," *gušqi* or *kuski*. Silver is apparently spoken of as the "bright-shining (white) metal," gold being the metal of the colour of a (dried) reed (*gi*).

2. *Maša-bi aša gin aša še-ta*. A very difficult line. *Maša-bi* has, in W.A.I., v, 40, No. 4, obv., two renderings, the first being *šibat-su*, "its interest" (l. 48 of the publication). In the second example, however, it seems to be translated by the construct case without the pronoun (*maša-bi maša an-tuga* = (*šibat*) *šibti iši*), "interest of the interest there is," which leads one to ask whether, in the above text, we are to understand the word "of" before *gin*, "shekel," in which case the translation would be, "its interest (namely, of) the one shekel, (is) one grain," or "at the rate of (one grain)," for such seems to be the force of the preposition here. The passage in W.A.I., iv, 16, l. 54, however, leads one to translate "its interest (that is, on

the whole sum) is 1 shekel and a grain," literally, "1 shekel with (*ta*) 1 grain."

4. The name Ura-gaše-ura is peculiar. Possibly the second part, *gaše-ura*, is the same or a variant reading of the *gašeria* of W.A.I., ii, 34, l. 57, where the word is translated by *širpetum*; or 𒄩𒄪, *ga*, may have the force of *kî* (W.A.I., ii, 20, l. 31), in which case the name may mean "bright like Ura,"—but all is doubtful.

7. *Iti Gu-si-si*, "month Iyyar." The reading of 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 for 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 is rather important, as it confirms the reading Gudsisa that I have used for the Akkadian form of the name for the last ten years or thereabouts.

8. *Šummuta*. Though this can hardly be regarded as an unusual word, it is at least an unusual form. Judging from the text that has already been quoted, 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 is for 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩, *šum-mu-ṭam* (for so it ought apparently to be read). The Assyrian translation given in the tablet of pattern-phrases is 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩, *i-nam-din*, "he will give back."

10. *Aḫu-waqar* (not *Aḫu-piam*), "the brother who is dear." *Waqar* is from *aqāru*, the Heb. אָקָר.

12. The form of the name Malik-bani, "the king has created," indicates that in *malik*, "the king," we are to see the well-known west Semitic god Moloch or Milcom. Many of the names in these documents are Amorite or Syrian.

14-15. The name 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪𒄩, *Ma-na-ma-al-te-el*, occupies two lines, in consequence of the difficulty that the scribe found in writing the whole in one line without inconveniently crowding the characters; and he has undoubtedly acted wisely in thus dividing it, as doubt concerning the reading of the characters is thereby practically eliminated. That the whole forms the name of the king in question is proved by the fact that the character 𒄩𒄪𒄩, *lugal*, "king," comes at the end of the second line, and closes the inscription. As is well known, it was the custom of the Babylonian scribes to indicate the first year of a king by calling it his year, as in this case. How it is that there is a wedge on the edge of the tablet, before the character, 𒄩𒄪𒄩, *mu*, "year," is not clear. In all probability it is merely due to a mistake of the scribe, who impressed it by oversight.

With regard to the meaning of the name, that is at present exceedingly doubtful. It is noteworthy, however, that very similar

names are known from the other texts of the same period. Thus the name of the now well-known Babylonian king Sumula-il appears in one place as Sumulel (or Sumule-el), and Sumu-ente-al (Bu. 91-5-9, 2378, 1.11), possibly to be read Sumu-ente-el, notwithstanding the clear writing of the final character in the original, seems to furnish another example. Another interesting name, apparently of the same class, is Mutumel, which seems to be for Mutili (= Methusael), "Man of god."

Another question is : Where are we to place this new ruler ?

One of the kings whose name appears frequently in documents of this period is Immerum. As he does not appear in the canon of the dynasty of Babylon, there was considerable doubt as to his position. Meissner (*Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, p. 4) places him after Zabum, the third king of the dynasty, "da in seiner (Immerum's) wie aus seines Vorgängers Regierung allein semitische Unterschriften der Contracte vorkommen und ihre Schrift merkwürdig übereinstimmt, so dass wir wohl annehmen dürfen, dass ein und derselbe Schreiber sie geschrieben habe." This, however, turns out not to be the case, for the tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 318 (*Cuneiform Texts*, Part IV) names Immerum and Sumula-il together, showing that they were either joint rulers, or else that one immediately succeeded the other, and that there was doubt in the minds of the people of the time as to who was the real ruler of the land. Evidently this furnishes a place to insert usurpers, and the style of our tablet would favour the supposition that Manamaltel ought to be inserted here. We must not go too fast in fixing the places of these obscure kings, however, for we learn from Bu. 91-5-9, 475 (*Cuneiform Texts*, Part IV) that there was an interregnum after Sumu-abum, the first king of the dynasty, died. The colophon-date recording this fact reads as follows :—

Iti	ti - ru - um	mu i - zi	Su - mu - a - bu - am	ba-bada
"Month Tirum, year after Sumu-abum died."				

As Sumu-abum was the first king of the dynasty, there is every probability that his successors found some difficulty in establishing themselves on the throne, and Manamaltel may have been one of those who opposed Sumu-abum's successor. During one of these two periods, also, there appears to have been another pretender, named 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, An-ma-an-i-la, also written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, An-ma-ni-la, to whose time three tablets belong,

namely, Bu. 91-5-9, 380, 877, and 2378 (*Cuneiform Texts*, Part VIII).

There is, of course, the possibility that this last-named, Anmanila, is the same as the Anman* of the dynasty of Sis-ku or Uru-ku, which immediately followed that of Babylon (the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged), and the question of the true position of these new rulers must necessarily remain for some time uncertain, because no material exists to give us the means of comparing either the style of the writing current at the time of Anman, or the nature of the personal names in use. All that can be said is that the writing would hardly be likely to change at the beginning of the period of the dynasty of Sis-ku to what it had been at the beginning of the dynasty of Babylon (that is to say, about 200 or 300 years before), and that names ending in *-ila* are more likely to have occurred at the earlier period. Though the later period is not altogether excluded, therefore, the balance of probability is in favour of the earlier one, and the same argument may be said to hold good with regard to the tablet belonging to the Rev. J. P. Way, both in the matter of the writing, and the form of the name Manamaltel.

There is also another argument that may perhaps be quoted in favour of the earlier date of Anmanila, and that is, the wording of the oath used in one of the documents giving his name. As is well known, the most usual form is :

Niš Šamaš, Aa, (niš) Marduk û (pulani)
The spirit of Šamaš, Aa, (the spirit of) Merodach and (so and so†),
 itmû
they have invoked.

In one of the tablets giving the name of Anmanila, however, the following oath-formula occurs :

Li-mu-un Šamaš û Anmanila ša a-na
The curse of Šamaš and Anmanila (upon him) who against
 a-wa-ti šu i-tu-ru
this decision contests.

* It is needful to note that this name may also be read Ilu-ma-ilu and Anmanila may be transcribed Ilu-manila.

† The name of the ruling king comes here.

This is a parallel form of oath with that found on a tablet bearing the name of Samula-il (Bu. 91-5-9, 863, 11, 22-26) :

Li-mu-un Šamaš, Marduk, û Sa-mu-la-il ša
The curse of Šamaš, Marduk, and Samula-il (upon him) who
 (a)-wa-at duppi a-ni-im u-na-ka-ru
the decision of this tablet changes.

A similar formula occurs also on the tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 704, ll. 15-17 :

Li-mu-un Šamaš û Su-ma-il* ša i-ra-ga-mu
The curse of Šamaš and Suma-il (upon him) who brings action.

Of course there is always the possibility that Anmanila may be the name of a god, but it is not by any means probable, as the above quotations, in which Samula-il and Suma-il replace Anmanila, show. As far as I know, the divine name Anmanila, or rather (as the first *an* would in all probability be the usual divine prefix) Man-ila, occurs nowhere else in Assyro-Babylonian literature.

* Apparently a mistake for or an abbreviation of the name of the king Sumula-il (Samula-il).



MAJOR MOCKLER FERRYMAN'S TABLET GIVING THE NAMES OF TEMPLE-OVERSEERS.

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

This tablet is about $3\frac{3}{8}$ in high by $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. wide, and is inscribed on the obverse with fifteen, and on the reverse with nine lines of archaic-Babylonian writing, the characters being, on the whole, well formed and clear. A large piece which has flaked off the reverse has more or less damaged the last four lines, but no line of the inscription seems to be completely lost, judging from the appearance of the edge after the last line preserved.

The following is a transcription and translation of the text :

Edge	Ê D.P. Ê-gir-su	<i>The temple of the god Êgirsu.</i>
Obv.	Ur- D.P. Ba-u dumu	<i>Ur-Bau, son of the seer of</i>
3	šabra ê ni-ku	<i>the temple, overseer.</i>
	Ê-šabra, ê D.P. Giš-	<i>Temple of the seer, temple of</i>
	bar-ê	<i>the god Giš-bar-ê.</i>
	Ur- D.P. Ba-u dumu ê	<i>Ur-Bau, son of the temple</i>
6	D.P. Giš-bar-ê ni-ku	<i>of the god Giš-bar-ê, over-</i>
		<i>seer.</i>
	Ê D.P. Nina	<i>Temple of Nina.</i>
	Lu- dingir-ra ni-ku	<i>Lu-dingira, overseer.</i>
9	Ê D.P. Nin-dar-a	<i>Temple of the god Nin-</i>
		<i>dar-a,</i>
	Ê D.P. Dumu-zi	<i>Temple of Tammuz,</i>
	Ur- Ê-ninnu dumu Du-	<i>Ur-E-ninnu, son of Dudu,</i>
	du ni-ku	<i>overseer.</i>
12	Ê D.P. Ga-tumu-duga	<i>Temple of Ga-tumu-duga,</i>
	Ê Nina D.S.	<i>Temple of (the city) Nina,</i>
	Ê ba-bi	<i>Temple of Babi,</i>
15	Ê D.P. Gal-alim	<i>Temple of the god Gal-</i>
		<i>alim,</i>

Edge	Ê D.P. Innanna, Ê D.P. Ningulu	<i>Temple of Istar, temple of the god Nin-gulu,</i>
Rev.	Lu D.P. Nin-saḥ ni-ku	<i>Lu-Nin-saḥ, overseer.</i>
18	Ê D.P. Nin-Mar-ki	<i>Temple of the god Nin- Mar-ki.</i>
	Ur- D.P. Nin-nê ni-ku	<i>Ur-Nin-nê, overseer.</i>
	Ê D.P. Nin-giš-zī-da	<i>Temple of Nin-giš-zīda,</i>
21	Ê D.P. Dun-gi-ra	<i>Temple of Dungi-ra,</i>
	Ur- D.P. ni-ku	<i>Ur- , overseer.</i>
	Ê (D.P.) -su	<i>Temple of the god . . . -su,</i>
24	Ur- D.P. ni-ku	<i>Ur- overseer.</i>

To all appearances this tablet gives a list of all the principal temples of the city called Girsu at a certain period which can only at present be determined roughly, but which is probably indicated with sufficient exactness if set down at about the time of Ur-bau or Gudea. Whether the occurrence of the name of Ur-bau twice in the text has anything to do with the date or not is uncertain, but it may be supposed with great probability that the two persons bearing this name, who were overseers of the temples referred to in the inscription, were named after the ruler in question.

The god Ê-Girsu was, as his name implies, the chief divinity of the city Girsu, which seems to have lain near, or to have formed a part of, the city known as Lagaš (*Šir-pur-la-ki*). As I have elsewhere pointed out, the dialectic form of Ê-Girsu is U-Mersi; and as the text which gives this information does not transpose the syllables, giving Mersi and not Simer, the tempting theory that we have in this word the original form of the name Šumer or Shinar is rendered still more doubtful than it might at first thought be regarded. Ê-Girsu is identified with the well-known god Ninip. Ur-Bau, the name of the *niku* or overseer, was a common one at this period.

Šabra is given as the Akkadian pronunciation of the group , pa-al, the Semitic *šabrū* being apparently borrowed from the Akkadian form. Nevertheless, it is not at all improbable that the Akkadian *šabra* comes from a Semitic source.

As determinative prefixes seem to have been but sparingly used by the writers of Akkadian, the word *niku*, which I have provisionally translated "overseer," is unprovided with this indication of its nature. The word is referred to by Thureau-Dangin, who translates it "surveillant-chef" (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1892-96, p. 130), and concerning

it he remarks, "Une sorte de roulement existait peut-être entre les PA et entre les NI-KOU ; il y avait donc le PA de l'année et le NI-KOU de l'année : leurs noms figuraient au bas des listes avec celui de l'intendant en chef." From this the status of the *niku* would seem to be simply that of overseer, or steward of the property of the temple or temples to which he was attached. In the case of the tablets translated by Thureau-Dangin, the things under the charge of this official were asses, oxen, etc.

As 𐎶 𐎶 is one of the groups for "fire," and, with the prefix 𐎶-𐎶, stands for the fire-god, it is probable that 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 also stands for this deity, or for one with similar attributes. The name apparently means "the fire coming forth," or "he who came forth (from) the fire."

The last character in line seven is apparently 𐎶𐎶𐎶, written rather roughly ; hence my transcription as Nina. It is to all appearance the same character that occurs in line thirteen, where the Babylonian city Nina is seemingly referred to.

The god Nin-dar-a (Ne-dar-a and Ê-dar-a are also possible readings) is mentioned in W.A.I. I, pl. 1, ii, 40-49, with the title of LIT-KU LIT-LU-LU-U-A = *rēi utullāti*, "shepherd of the herds" (Del., H. W., 439 a). It is noteworthy that the name of his temple is immediately followed by that of Dumuzi, or Tammuz, that heavenly shepherd who is a type of Abel, killed by his brother winter, and sent down to the underworld, whence all the wiles of his spouse, the goddess Ištar, were ineffectual to bring him forth until his time came round.

Have we in Dudu (line 11) an early instance of the occurrence of the name so well known to us from the Bible as David ?

Ga-tumu-duga (the dialectic form of which is 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶. *Ma-ši-ib-šib*) is one of the names of the goddess Bau (W.A.I. II, 59, ii, 27).

𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, E-ba-bi (line 14). It is noteworthy that there is no divine prefix before the second element (*ba-bi*), and this being the case, it is of course exceedingly doubtful whether this is the name of a god or not ; more probably the absence of the D.P. indicates that it is not the name of a god. It is also to be noted that, wherever the word occurs in the texts of this period, the prefix is wanting. Thus, on a tablet of the reign of Ine-Sin, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 is mentioned along with the temple of Ga-tumu-duga (*cf.* line 12), and the prefix is likewise non-existent. This is a fact that is worth being taken into

EDGE 五合 五合

OBV. 五合 五合 五合 五合 五合

3 五合 五合

6 五合 五合 五合 五合 五合

9 五合 五合 五合 五合 五合

12 五合 五合 五合 五合 五合

15 五合 五合 五合 五合 五合

EDGE 翻 来 工 翻 来 金 翻

REV. 翻 来 金 翻 翻 来 金 翻

18 翻 来 金 翻 翻 来 金 翻

21 翻 来 金 翻 翻 来 金 翻

24 翻 来 金 翻 翻 来 金 翻

TABLET FROM LAGAŠ (TEL-LOH) IN THE POSSESSION OF MAJOR
MOCKLER-FERRYMAN.

consideration, for the name of the father of Dungi, which has been read variously Ur-Bagaš and Ur-Babi (= Ur-Ba-vi = Ur-Ba-wi = Ur-Bau) will probably need that another interpretation be sought for it. In all likelihood fresh material from the East will alone throw upon it the needful light.

𒂗𒌦 𒂗𒌦𒂗𒌦, Gal-alim (line 15). In this word the last character is apparently the same as the Assyrian 𒂗𒌦𒂗𒌦, *alim*; hence the reading here adopted. Gal-alim must be the same as 𒂗𒌦𒂗𒌦, Alim, one of the names of the god Bel.

Innanna (line 16) is a name of Ištar, and gives the old Babylonian form of the character written in late Babylonian as 𒂗𒌦𒂗𒌦, and in Assyrian as 𒂗𒌦𒂗𒌦.

According to W.A.I. V, 21, 25 c, the Semitic pronunciation of 𒂗𒌦𒂗𒌦𒂗𒌦 (which is probably to be transcribed Nin-nê, "lord of wisdom," in Akkadian) was Almu.

Besides the interest attached to the personal names and the names of the temples, we have the indication that certain of the Babylonian temples were associated, and had one overseer of their property and revenues in common, and we are enabled by that to estimate to a certain extent the importance of each foundation, for whereas the temple of Ê-Girsu, for instance, has an overseer all to itself in one case, on the other hand no less than five temples (Ê-Ga-tumu-duga, Ê-Nina, Ê-babi, Ê-Gal-alim, Ê-Innanna, and Ê-Nin-gula) have to be content with the services of one man, In-Nin-sah, among them. It is to be hoped that he did his work to the satisfaction of all his various masters.

In the first line, I am in doubt as to whether I have drawn the last character but one rightly. The correct form is, of course, 𒂗𒌦𒂗𒌦.



AN INTERESTING CYLINDER-SEAL.

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

The repetition of the accompanying reproduction of a cylinder-seal published in M. de Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 30, 5B, will probably not be thought superfluous, as it is of an interest which does not appear at first glance.

As will be seen, it is a kind of hunting-scene. First there is a male figure, nude apparently but for a girdle round his waist, struggling with a short-horned bull. Rearing behind him, in symmetrical attitudes, are two other bulls (the design is completed on the left), man-headed, and facing the spectator. Between them is a bird with extended wings. The right hand bull in this symmetrical group is apparently being attacked (though this is by no means certain, on account of the mutilation of the design in this place) by the human figure on the left of the inscription.

The most interesting group in this design, however, is the central one, representing a male figure, crowned, and clothed in a tunic, contending with a rearing lion, open-mouthed, which faces him. The inscription behind reads:—

✱ ➤E <<<<A
D.P. Nin - in.

Diod. Siculus, apparently quoting Ctesias, gives a description of the ancient city of Babylon, and in the course of that account mentions that the walls of both the second and the third enclosures of the city were ornamented with various figures, among them being Semiramis and Ninus slaying the leopard and the lion (ii, 8). As yet, we have not come across any representation of Semiramis, but the question naturally arises whether we have not here a design representing Ninus, for the inscription, in whatever way we read it, certainly contains the elements of that name. The only question of importance in the reading is whether we are to regard the syllable *in* as a separate one, and read it *Ninin*, transformed by the Greeks into

Ninos by assimilating one of the n's (as in the case of Nadinu, which became Nadios, Belibnî, which became Belibos, &c.); or as the phonetic complement of the first, in which case the name of the deity (for such he apparently is) would be simply Nin, turned by the Greeks into Ninos without any other change than the addition of the Greek termination.

Our President, Prof. Sayce, is in favour of the latter view, which appears to me also to be the more reasonable. On the other hand, if Prof. Hommel be right in identifying the well-known god Ninip (of which the above would then be a variant form) with Ninos, then the form Ninin would have more probability of being the right one. In any case, the original form would seem to be that given by the above.

Even though Ni-in or Nin-in prove to be the name of the owner of the cylinder, and not that of the personage close to whom it is engraved, there is still every probability that it will throw light on the name of Ninos, to which it bears so noteworthy a resemblance.

[The photograph of this cylinder-seal and the tablet will be issued with the next Part of the *Proceedings*.—W. H. R.]



NOTES.

CYLINDER OF PEPI Ist.

I send a photograph, taken from a plaster cast, of a cylinder of Pepi Ist, that, thanks to Mr. Newberry, I obtained in Egypt two years ago. It was found at Erment. This cylinder measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in diameter. It is made of a very hard, blue stone, or perhaps of some composition. The inscription (commencing with the centre column) reads :

“Meri taui Pepi ”

“Seten per se-ankh ar uzut neb ef ”

I cannot make out the characters on the right.

WALTER L. NASH.

PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS.

Professor Lagrange, editor of the *Revue Biblique*, has kindly communicated a few corrections of some doubtful readings in the Palmyrene inscriptions discussed in the *Proceedings*, Part II, pp. 68-78. There is no doubt that he is correct in reading ברת and ברעא in No. 15, ll. 2, 4 (p. 71), a trace of the ת is clearly seen

in the photograph which he has courteously enclosed. The proper names **הדירת** and **אהא** will then be feminine, and the explanation of **הדירת**, which I suggested, now becomes unnecessary. Furthermore, in 27a, b (p. 72), **חלי** should clearly be **חלא**, and the name **זמירא**, for which I proposed **זהירא**, may possibly be read **נמירא**, cf. Sin. **נמרה** (Eut. 79). I am also informed that a few of the inscriptions edited by Professor Müller (*Palmyrenische Inschriften*, 1898), appeared a year previously in the *Revue Biblique*; I regret that these were overlooked by me.

A few remarks may be added with reference to the Palm. **שא**, **צא** and **רצו**, to which allusion was made on p. 75. **שא** is found in the Palmyrene names **אלהשא**, **אמרשא**, **עלישא**, **רמשא** and **תומשא**, and on the analogy of the names **אלהבל**, **תומדושרא**, **תומאלהי**, it was plausible to suppose that in some of these names, at all events, **שא** was a deity. But **שא** certainly represents **שמשא** in the name **אמרשא** (Gr. *αμρισαμσου*), and the same abbreviation may perhaps be found in **אלהשא**, **עלישא**, and **תומשא**; so Prætorius, *Zeit. d. Morgenland. Gesell.*, xxviii, p. 512. On the other hand, De Vogüé (*La Syrie Centrale*, p. 50) derived **אלהשא** from **אלהנשא**, and a similar explanation has been applied to **רמשא** and **עתשא** (Ledrain, *Dictionnaire des Noms Propres Palmyréniens*). In favour of this is the circumstance that *νασσαθη* (Waddington, 2230) appears to represent **נשאעתה**, with the elements transposed. It so happens, however, that **עתשא** admits of two other interpretations: (1) Lidzbarski (*Handb. d. Nordsem. Epig.*) conjectures that **שא** is an abbreviation of **שורי**, which we find in the Palm. names **בלשורי** **עתרשור**; and (2), by the side of **עתשא** we have the Sinaitic **עתשו**, and on the analogy of **כלבא**, **כלבו**; **קישו**, **קישא**, **גמלו**, **גמלא**; **גרמו**, **גרמא**, it is not improbable that the Aram. **א** has exchanged with the Ar. **ו**. Similarly one is tempted to connect with **רמשא** the S. Arab. **רמשו** (Hommel, *Sud-Arab. Chrest.*, p. 131). Finally, in **עלישא** also it is probable that the **ש** is radical, cf. Phcen. **עלשת**, **עלשי**; Gr. *αλαισος*, and *αλασαθος* (= **עלשת**? see *Zeit. d. Morgenland. Gesell.*, xlii, 474 f), The simple form seems to appear in **عَلَسْ** (Ibn Dor., 169), and Gr. *αλεσος*. The existence of a Palm. deity **שא** thus becomes highly questionable.

The element **צ** is found in **אמתצ**, **תומצ**, and, as it would appear, in a slightly different form in **עבדצ**. Two explanations have been suggested. According to one, it is the same as the supposed divine name **שצ**, a view that must now be considered untenable; the other treats it as an abbreviation of the divine name **רצ** or **רצוא**, which is probably identical with the Ar. god *Kudā*; see Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heid.*, 2nd ed., pp. 58 f. For the view that it recurs in the form **רע** in **רעב**, etc., see Hoffmann, *Zeit. f. Ass.*, xi, 214. The equation **צ** = **רצ**, suggested by Baethgen (*Beit. z. semit. Religionsgesch.*, p. 91) has been received with some approval, and is considered possible by—to mention only the most recent writers—Lidzbarski (*op. cit.*), Wellhausen (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1899, No. III, p. 245), and J. Mordtmann (*Palmyrenisches*, 1899, p. 48). Otherwise it is possible to follow Hommel (*Zeit. d. M.G.*, liii, 100 f.) and identify **צ** with a S. Ar. divine name **צ**. The Palm. name **עבדצ** might here have proved an important piece of evidence were it not that the reading is considered unreliable by Nöldeke (*Zeit. d. M.G.*, xli, 713), and should have been marked with a query in my *Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*. It seems impossible, therefore, to arrive at any definite conclusion respecting the Palm. **צ** in our present state of knowledge. We cannot even feel sure that the reading is everywhere correct, and the close resemblance which **ח** bears to **צ** in the Palm. inscriptions makes it not unlikely that the true reading is **חצ**, a divine name which, however, yet needs explanation. This eventuality mentioned by me on p. 77 has, I notice, occurred also to Mordtmann (*op. cit.*, p. 48, “**צ** eventuell sogar **חצ**”; cf. p. 29).

S. A. COOK.

THE OFFICIAL TITLE LU-SU-PA-MEŠ.

The official title, written ideographically LU-SU-PA-MEŠ, is clearly to be read *mukil apāti*. The variants, too numerous to specify here, abundantly prove this. The functions which this official performs in Assyrian contracts show clearly that his chief business was

with the slaves and domestic servants of the royal household. The *apûti* must therefore mean "household" or "domestics," *mukil* signifies "one who looks after, attends to." The official in question then was a comptroller of the slaves. His duty was to keep the staff of slaves up to its full number, and doubtless to organise their service.

A somewhat frequent termination in proper names seems to require further elucidation. Among the compounds of Nabû, we have Nabû-ti-i; we also have Nabû-ti and Nabû-tu. These suggest an abstract Nabûtu, formed from the idea of Nabû. It would be rash however to say Nabûtu meant the "status of a prophet:" for we have also Aḥu-tu, Abu-tu, Ašur-ti, Sin-ti, Abi-ti-i, Bêl-ti-i, Nergal-ti-i, Ninip-ti-i, and Šepâ-ti-i.

April 19th, 1899.

C. H. W. J.

ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM.

In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897, p. 155, Professor G. H. Moore has a learned article upon "Ashteroth-Karnaim," showing, from the analogy of the newly-discovered votive tablets to Baal Karnaim of Carthage published by M. Toutain, that the Karnaim of Genesis and I and II Maccabees was almost certainly a double-peaked mountain sacred to Ashteroth.

He further argues that Ashteroth = Venus, not being a lunar goddess, would not be termed of herself Karnaim. This however I venture to think is not conclusive, for although at Carthage Baal Karnaim certainly in the case of M. Toutain's texts meant "Baal of the double-peaked mountain," yet we have a representation of Baal, as Baal Ammon, with a head ornamented with horns, so that certainly after his identification with Ammon, if not before, he was Baal Karnaim: also, Professor Moore agrees with the close connection of Ashteroth with Ishtar, and recently Pere Scheil has provided us with a cylinder representation of Ishtar as a cow; but the chief objection of Professor Moore that a horned goddess could only be a lunar one because of "the gibbous moon," is itself

invalidated by the fact that Venus is also subject to phases and becomes crescent shaped. It is therefore just possible that in the clear air of Mesopotamia, aided by such instruments as they then had, this fact was known to the Chaldeans, and Ashteroth = Venus = Karnaim is a reasonable combination after all. The existence of a goddess Ashera is now, from the Tel Amarna tablets, proven, and must not be confounded with the "Ashera" emblem. This latter, however, was certainly connected with the iconography of the Ashteroth cult, and it is therefore interesting to note that upon a seal published last year by Dr. Hayes Ward, representing certain Hittite symbols and a "Nehushtan," there is also an "Ashera" surmounted by a crescent.

JOSEPH OFFORD.

THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF SENNACHERIB'S MURDER.

In view of the historical difficulties connected with the Biblical account of Sennacherib's murder, any light upon the family of that monarch must be interesting. From the historical inscriptions we know of Ašur-nadin-šum, perhaps his eldest son, made king of Babylon, B.C. 699, and carried captive to Elam, about the end of B.C. 694. Sennacherib also built a palace for his son Ašur-šum-ušabsi, whose name in its ideographic form Ašur-MU-NI-İK has been thought to have been the origin of Adrammelech. As we now know, in B.C. 694, Ardi-Bêlit was called crown-prince in Nineveh, and this name also has been claimed for the original of Adrammelech. Of course, Esarhaddon is the most important. His mother's name was Naki'a. As Professor Jensen has suggested to me, this may be a Hebrew name meaning 'the pure' or 'innocent' one. If the lady was a Hebrew this would account for her also bearing as her Assyrian name its translation—Zakûtu. The regard which the Jews always seem to have had for Esarhaddon and his clemency to Manasseh may thus receive explanation. A further claim has been

set up by Dr. Winckler that Shareser is really Šar-eṭir, a prince who seems at one time to have been addressed as king, possibly when he usurped the throne on the death of Sennacherib. It is not yet proved that Šar-eṭir was a son of Sennacherib. We may add one more name to the family. In B.C. 688 a certain Sama' appears in the Assyrian contracts as *murabanu* of the king's son. Sama' also appears about the same time as *murabanu* of Nergal-šum , the end of the name being lost. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Nergal-šum . . . was son of Sennacherib.

In Dr. Moldenke's Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is published a contract dated at Nippur in the accession year of Sin-šum-lišir, king of Assyria. Now in K. 6223 and K. 6332 (fragments first published by Dr. Winckler in his *Altorientalische Forschungen*, No. vii, p. 4 f.), we find Sin-šum-lišir named as the *rabšak* of the king. Dr. Winckler was unaware of the name of this king. I have had the good fortune to discover many more fragments of the same tablets, by which we learn that Ašur-etil-ilâni was the king. It seems probable, therefore, that just as Nabû-aplu-ušur, an Assyrian general, set up an independent rule in Bābylon, so Sin-šum-lišir did in Nippur. These weakenings of the Assyrian Empire must have left the door open for the Median invasion. It is noteworthy that this claim to be king of Assyria was made by Sin-šum-lišir at Nippur. We know that Sin-šar-iškun was acknowledged in Erech. Were these both contemporaries with Ašur-etil-ilâni? If so, it is more than probable that civil war preceded the foreign invasion which overwhelmed Nineveh.

April 19th, 1899.

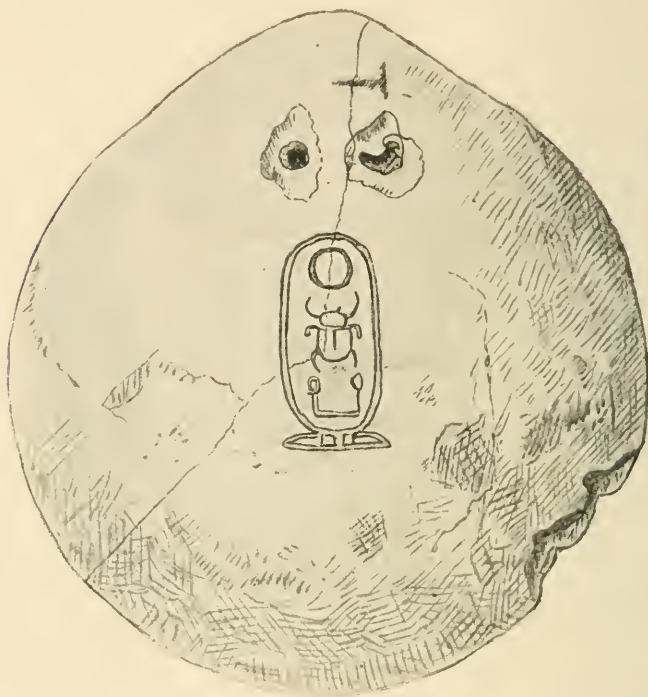
C. H. W. J.

SKETCH OF AN ENGRAVED SHELL.

The annexed copy (nearly full size) of a sketch made by me many years ago, from the original, then in the collection of the late Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., represents an engraved shell, pierced with two holes, evidently for suspension. Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, in his recently

published book on "Hieroglyphics," p. 25, states that "pearl shells engraved with the names of the kings are found dating from the XIIIth dynasty, and were evidently valued."

W. H. R.



THE LAND OF CABUL.

There is much of historical interest in 1 Kings ix. 10-28. There was so much of the *grand monarque* in Solomon, and he was so closely connected with neighbouring peoples, that a section like this claims to be re-examined from time to time. Before we can interpret it, we must, of course, criticize the text. Elsewhere (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, July) I hope to show that it was not Pharaoh king of Egypt for whose daughter Solomon built a house, and who conquered Gezer from the Canaanites to make a present of it to his daughter, Solomon's wife, but Pir'u, king of the north Arabian land of Muṣri. Here I must limit myself to attempting an explanation of the 'land of Cabul.' When vv. 10-14 (in their original form, on which *cf.* Benzinger) were written, there was a portion of the ארץ הגליל containing as many as twenty cities called ארץ כבול. This ought surely to be mentioned elsewhere, but we only find a town called Cabul, in the Asherite territory (Josh. xix, 27). The older views on 'the land of Cabul' are well summed up in Gesenius's *Thesaurus*. The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* viii, 5. 3) that Χαβζλων means in Phœnician οὐκ ἄρρεσκον is of course a mere inference from the statement in 1 Kings ix, 12, that the cities which Solomon had given Hiram, as a pledge perhaps for the payment of his debt, 'were not right in his (Hiram's) eyes.' Gesenius himself holds that the true meaning of כבול is 'boundary' (Gr. ὄριον = גְּבוּל), and that the popular wit interpreted the name as if כְּהַבּוּל; כְּהַבּוּל is an imagined passive participle from הָבַל. Not impossibly, he thinks, the district referred to received its name from the town called Cabul, and Buhl (*Geogr.*, 221) agrees that a connection between the name of the town and that of the region is at any rate plausible. The objection to this is twofold.

1. It is impossible to get anything witty out of **כָּבּוּל**. Ewald and Thenius have, it is true, suggested **כָּבֵל**, 'like nought,' but this is not very much more satisfactory than Gesenius's view.

2. The town Cabul, which was in Asher, can hardly have been reckoned as belonging to **אֶרֶץ הַגָּלִיל** or 'the Land of the Circle' (Galilee). A bolder course seems therefore to be necessary. Seeing this, Klostermann and Grätz propose to read **גליל** for **כָּבּוּל**, and the former thinks that **גליל** may have been popularly derived from **גָּלָל**, 'dung.' There ought to be no theoretic objection to this; **ג** and **כ**, **ל** and **ב** can easily be confounded. But the textual corruption supposed is not a very probable one; the well-known word **גליל** would, as Benzinger (in his recent commentary) remarks, hardly have been *corrupted* into the little known name Cabul. Nor, I think, is the proposed witticism at all natural; such a transparent name as **גליל** did not, in fact, lend itself to witty popular etymologies.

Klostermann's view, however, suggests a theory which seems to me much more plausible than his own. The 'land of Cabul' was certainly a well known district. It was *in* 'the Land of Galilee,' but was not coincident with that region. It suggested a popular witticism, and the witticism depended on the meaning of a dissyllabic word; it is hopeless to analyze **כָּבּוּל** in the manner of Gesenius and Ewald. There seems to be but one possibility. For **כָּבּוּל** read **זְבוּלָן** 'Zebulun.' This was probably written **זְבוּל**. A stroke, denoting abbreviation, can easily be shown to have been in very early use. When, as often occurred, the stroke of abbreviation became effaced, corruption of the text was very likely to arise. A learned scribe, remembering Josh. xix, 27, and knowing that there was neither a city nor a district called Zebul, emended **זְבוּל** into **כָּבּוּל**.

And what was the witty etymology devised by the people? It was like that which explained the divine name Beel-zebul (from Baal-zebul, *i.e.*, 'lord of the heavenly palace,' *cf.* Ass. *zabala*), as 'lord of dung,' and the royal name 'Izebel (**אִיזֶבֶל** Jezebel) as 'what dung' (2 Kings ix, 37). It is in fact a new derivation of the tribal name Zebulun, which was probably invited by the mixed character of the population of the 'land of Zebulun' (Isa. ix, 1

[viii, 23]). The true Israelites of Zebulun were not without honourable features (*cf.* Judg. iv, 6, 10; v, 14, 18; vi, 35), but they could not perhaps escape good-humoured mockery for living in a territory marred by idolatry. In later times זְבוּלֹן was a contemptuous term applied to idol-worship; probably the words, 'and they were called (see Revised Version, margin) the land of Cabul unto this day,' are a *post-Exilic insertion*.

It may be objected that, according to Josh. xix, 10-16, there were but twelve cities in Zebulun. But the list of cities, and the calculation of the total, comes to us from the post-Exilic priestly writer (P); we cannot depend on its perfect accuracy. It is likely enough that there were twenty cities in the land of Zebulun when the record handed down to us in an edited form in 1 Kings ix, 10-14 was written. I have assumed that, even if a late insertion, the words at the end of ver. 13 (as corrected here), which place the 'twenty cities' in the land of Zebulun, are nevertheless correct. Of course the writer does not mean to say that the name Zebulun was first given in the time of Solomon, any more than the Yahwistic writer (J) means to assert historically that Bethel was not called Bethel before the appearance of Jacob or of Jacobæans in that locality.

The 'twenty cities,' then, were in the lower part of the Gālil (Galilee). The upper part had for its centre Kedesh; the lower part, in the time of Josephus, but probably also when 1 Kings ix, 10-14 was written, extended as far as *Χαβαλων* or *Χαβουλων*, which, by a natural error of Greek scribes, was miswritten *Ζαβουλων* (see Hudson, Spanheim, and Reland, as quoted by Havercamp, *Josephi Opera*, i, 434; ii, 222). Guérin, following Reland, defends the reading *Ζαβουλων* in Josephus, *Contr. Ap.*, i, 17; ii, 18. 9. But, as Buhl rightly holds, the view that there was a city called Zebulun is improbable.

DR. T. K. CHEYNE

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury. W.C., on Tuesday, 6th June, 1899, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, President, "Hittite Notes.'



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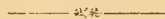
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VOL. XXI. TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

Fifth Meeting, June 6th, 1899.



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THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
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REVERSE OF TABLET BELONGING TO THE REV. J. P. WAY, D.D., CONTAINING
IN THE LAST TWO LINES THE NAME OF MANAMALTEL. (*See p. 160.*)



CYLINDER-SEAL IN THE DE SARZEC COLLECTION. (*See p. 168.*)

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TWENTY-NINTH SESSION, 1899.

Fifth Meeting, 6th June, 1899.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., ETC., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Secretary of State in Council of India:—The Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XLII and XLIII. Oxford. 1897.

From the Author:—Rev. P. A. Cesare de Cara, S.J. I Dialetti Italici, e gl' Itali della storia. Sommario. *Civiltà Cattolica*. May, 1899. 8vo.

From the Author:—An Egyptian Pontifical, about A.D. 350. Translated from the edition of Dr. G. Webbermin, with Introduction and Notes by John Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. Salisbury. 1899. 8vo.

From the British and Foreign Bible Society :—

“Four Hundred Tongues.”

“In Our ‘Tongues.” A popular Handbook to the Translation Work.

The British and Foreign Bible Society. London. 1899.

From the Author :—Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris, No. 1.

Publié par S. Birch, après l'Original du British Museum, par le Dr. Karl Piehl. Vienne. 1882.

From the Publishers, Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode :—Light from the East; or, The Witness of the Monuments. An Introduction to the Study of Biblical Archæology. Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A. London. 1899. 4to.

From the Publisher, Mr. E. Stanford :—The Land of Goshen and the Exodus. Major R. H. Brown, C.M.G. London. 1899. 8vo.

The following Candidates were nominated and, having been by special order submitted for election, were elected Members of the Society :—

Robert Barclay, High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Herts.

Madame Lydia Mountford, 30, Budge Row, E.C.

Miss A. Anderson Morton, 21, Chenies Street Chambers, Gower Street, W.C.

A Paper was read by the President, entitled “Hittite Notes.”

Remarks were added by Mr. W. St. C. Boscawen, the Secretary, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT ABYDOS AND NEGADAH.

[*Abstract of a Paper read before the Society at the Meeting of 2nd May, 1899.*]

BY F. LEGGE.

INTRODUCTION.

It was stated that the object of the paper was to make plain, to those who had not hitherto followed the subject, the effect of the discoveries lately made by M. Amélineau at Abydos and by M. de Morgan at Negadah, so far as they affect the early history of Egypt. Their appreciation has been delayed till now by the late appearance of M. Amélineau's own account of his work.*

PART I.—ABYDOS.

Site of Excavations.

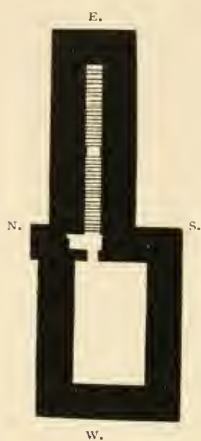
The spot chosen by M. Amélineau for exploration was the hill known to the natives as Om el-Ga'ab (*i.e.*, Mother of Pots), and is a succession of small hillocks or *tumuli* lying to the westward of the great necropolis of Abydos excavated by Mariette in 1860-1868. The whole group rises considerably above the level of the surrounding plains, and is covered with fragments of red pottery. According to M. Amélineau, its existence as a source in which funeral and other jars and pieces of pottery can be found, has long been known to the natives, who have made a practice of going there in procession on Good Friday to procure playthings for their children. The upper soil consists entirely of loose sand mixed with brick-bats and rubbish, the foundation being apparently limestone rock.

Description of Early Tombs.

The four early tombs which M. Amélineau claims to be præ-dynastic were all excavated between the 9th of February and the 18th

* *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos, 1895-1896* (Leroux, Paris), giving a full description of M. Amélineau's first year's excavations, with phototypes of the objects discovered, was not published until April, 1899.

of March, 1896, more than four hundred workmen being employed on them at one time. They were situated behind the fourth mound or hillock, and on a plateau which appears to have been $123^m\cdot93 \times$



$147^m\cdot15$. Each tomb was surrounded by a series of smaller and less sumptuous tombs running parallel with it, which leads M. Amélineau to conclude that the central tomb was in each case that of the king, the royal functionaries and perhaps the royal family being interred in the smaller ones.* The four tombs may be thus described:—

(1) *Tomb of King Den*. Stairway tomb with main chamber $15^m\cdot05 \times 8^m\cdot90$, the main walls being no less than $4^m\cdot39$ thick. The walls have crumbled into the tomb, but those that remain are $6^m\cdot24$ high. Looking at this and their great thickness, it seems probable that other chambers and perhaps a temple were built upon these foundation walls, and that some of the jars and

other votive offerings may have been placed in the superstructure, from which they have fallen into the tomb. The walls were originally built of sunburnt bricks faced with a coating of Nile mud, the floor of the chamber being paved with pink granite in huge slabs. At some period a fierce fire has been kindled in the centre of the chamber, which has consumed the body, baked the bricks, and destroyed many of the objects buried with the dead. Besides the steles and other objects shown in the plates, there were found in this tomb more than one hundred carrot-shaped jars upright in the sand, containing provisions for the king's use in the next world, and still sealed with cone-shaped pieces of clay. There were also found a blank stele in pink granite, polished, but unworked, and an ivory plaque representing a king bearing the Horus-name of Den [for which see Plate I, fig. 1], smiting with a club a thin-bearded figure of Semitic type, and now in the collection of the Rev. W. MacGregor. From the occurrence of this and of many other objects all bearing the Den rectangle, we are justified in assuming that this was the tomb of the king whose Horus-name is thus denoted.†

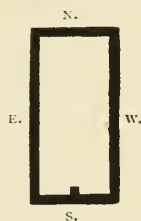
* *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, pp. 108 *sqq.*

† The same rectangle is found on many objects coming from the smaller tombs arranged round it, which gives some colour to M. Amélineau's theory that they were the tombs of royal functionaries.

(2) *Tomb of King Qâ*. Tomb with one chamber, measuring $10^m\cdot90 \times 5^m\cdot86$. Such of the walls as remain are about 4^m high. The tomb has been entirely paved with wooden planks fastened together with fastenings of pure copper. After the planking was put in, the tomb has been divided into two by a transverse wall running from E. to W. There are marks which show that at one time wooden pillars were inserted in the flooring, apparently for the purpose of supporting a roof or other superstructure. M. Amélineau thinks this was possibly also a stairway tomb, but he found no traces of the stairs.



(3) *Tomb of King Khephsh-sed*.* Tomb with one chamber measuring $16^m\cdot75 \times 7^m\cdot60$. Some of the walls extend to $5^m\cdot15$ in height. In the middle of the south wall appears the beginning of a transverse wall $0^m\cdot85$ thick and $3^m\cdot85$ high, which projects into the chamber for a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres, and then suddenly terminates. If it met another wall running from E. to W., so as to form two subsidiary chambers, all trace of these is destroyed. This tomb also was paved with wood for its entire length, and here too a great fire has been kindled which has reduced the wood to charcoal. It contained besides many fragments of vases, and part of a box in marquetry work, the decoration being effected with small cubes of glass enamel. This too bore a rectangle containing perhaps the Horus-name Az-ab.

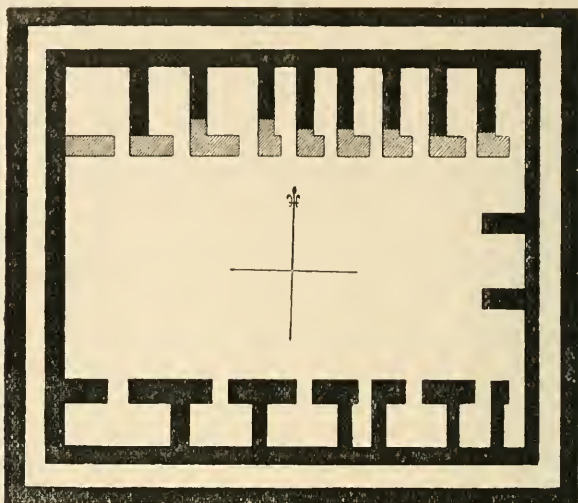


(4) *Tomb of King Dja*. This tomb is of a different construction to the others. The central chamber measures $11^m\cdot85$ from E. to W., with a width of $9^m\cdot93$, and a height of perhaps $2^m\cdot07$. On the N. side of the chamber are constructed nine smaller chambers, on the E. three, and on the S. seven, the largest of these measuring $1^m\cdot82 \times 1^m\cdot42$. They would therefore be just about large enough to hold a corpse in the contracted position, and the fact that many steles containing neither Horus-names nor other royal emblems were found in these small chambers or *loculi* gives some reason to suppose that officers of the Court were buried there. The great limestone

* Reading the signs as . Prof. Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*) 4th ed.

Vol. I, p. 19) reads it *Mer-sed*.

stele [Plate I, fig. 4] was found attached to the middle of the W. wall, and doubtless gives the name of the principal personage for



whom the tomb was made. M. Amélineau says nothing as to the paving of the tomb, nor as to whether it showed signs of fire.*

The Four Steles (Plate I).

The Stele of King Den. This was, as I have mentioned, found blank, but its place is supplied by a huge mortar in grey granite found in the tomb, and bearing upon one of its sides the hawk-crowned rectangle shown in fig. 1 of the plate. The work is very rough, and appears to have been left unfinished, the bracket under the sign ~~~~ having been left on the dexter side, and the upper border of the rectangle not having been completed.†

The Stele of King Qû (fig. 2). This is a monolith of black

* M. Jéquier (De Morgan, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'Égypte*, t. ii, p. 242) says that all four tombs had been partly consumed by fire. As he was in communication with M. Amélineau at the time, this may probably be taken as correct.

† I owe these remarks to Mr. Rylands, who noticed the defects when he was preparing the diagrams for the paper. I have to thank him not only for the pains which he gave to these, but for most valuable help in seeing the Plates through the press.

PLATE I.

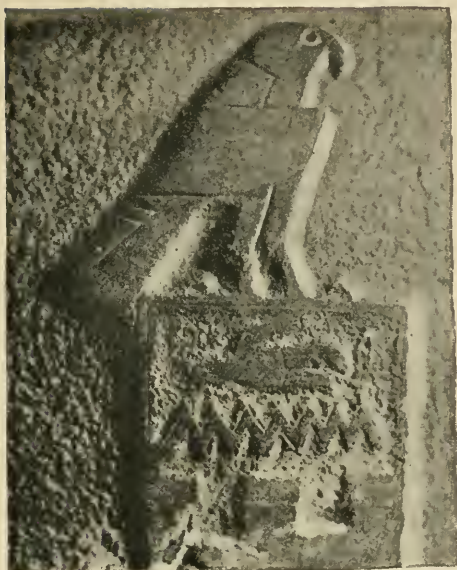


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

From AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos, 1895-1896*. In extenso edition. (Paris. Leroux, 1899.)





Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

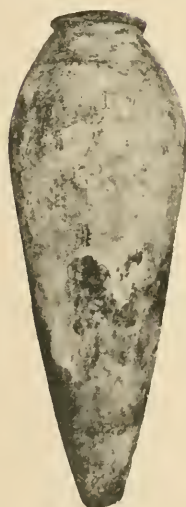


Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

Figs. 1-10, from AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos, 1895-1896*. In extenso edition. (Paris. Leroux, 1899.) Figs. 11-15, from DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'Égypte*, Tome II. (Paris. Leroux, 1898.)

granite, measuring $1^m \times 0^m \cdot 45$. It was broken into many pieces, but all the essential parts have been found, and it is now in the museum at Gizeh.

The Stele of King Khephsh-sed (fig. 3). This, the smallest of the four steles, is also in black granite, and measures in its present state $0^m \cdot 50 \times 0^m \cdot 50$. This too is in the museum at Gizeh. The characters are much defaced, apparently by attrition of the stone.

The Stele of King Dja (fig. 4). This is a monolith of limestone, measuring about $2^m \cdot 50 \times 0^m \cdot 63$. It has been broken in three pieces, but the finish and delicacy of the work are most marked, and are quite equal to the best period of Egyptian art.

Other Horus-names (Plate II).

In addition to these four steles, M. Amélineau found in the same tombs the Horus-names shown in figs. 1-9 of the plate. They were all engraved on the bellies of earthen jars of the shape shown on fig. 10. Figs. 1-3 come from the tomb of King Den, the others from those of the other three kings; but M. Amélineau does not appear to have further distinguished their provenance. They have all been cut or engraved with a point upon the clay while it was yet soft, and before the jar was baked. None of the names have been identified with those of any kings hitherto known, nor is it even certain that they are necessarily the names of persons. Figs. 2, 4, 5, 7 and 9 are surrounded by the crenellated cartouche generally used for the names of cities. In addition to these marks on the body of the jar, many of the jars were sealed with clay cones, and these cones were impressed with seals engraved on cylinders of the kind familiar in Babylonian excavations. These jar-sealings are shown on figs. 11-15, figs. 11-14 being from the tomb of King Den. Fig. 11 is the seal of King Den himself; figs. 12 and 13 have not yet been read; fig. 14 is the seal of the king named Az-ab;* and fig. 15 is that of one named Aha, to whom I shall have to refer again presently.

Other Royal Titles (Plate III).

So far I have had to do with Horus-names alone; but we now

* M. Maspero, in *Revue Critique* of 12 Dec., 1897. It is probable that the seals also contain the names of the keepers of the king's vineyards which may be expressed by the signs between the rectangles.

come to others which give us some clue to the period with which we are dealing. Figs. 1 and 2 are fragments of hard stone vases found in the tomb of King Qâ. Fig. 1 contains under the royal titles  *suten net*, characters which Maspero and others* have agreed to consider equivalent to  *Merbap*, or Merbapen, the 6th king of the 1st dynasty, and the *Μεβιδός* of Manetho. Fig. 2 contains, I think, under the  and the *nebti* or Vulture and Uraeus title , the signs  which we have already seen on the rectangle of Qâ. We may therefore suppose, from the fact that it was found in his tomb,† that he used the same name for his earthly self as for his *kâ*, a practice which certainly was not followed by Sneferu, the 1st king of the IVth dynasty, nor, I think, by any of his successors until the Saite Renaissance. According to some, however, these signs should be read , and are to be identified with Kebeh or (Κ)ουβιερθής, the 8th king of Manetho's 1st dynasty.‡ It should not be lost sight of, that there is another Horus rectangle and other signs behind this protocol; and they are probably those of the royal officer to whom the vase belonged, the royal title being that of his master. Fig. 3 is another fragment of a vase coming from the same necropolis, with a well executed Horus rectangle containing the name of Az-ab before mentioned. It will be noticed that the rectangle is contained in the larger sign for habitation  and is upheld by the arms of the *kâ* , with some other adjuncts not very distinguishable. Fig. 4 is a similar fragment bearing the rectangle of Aha which we have before seen. Fig. 5 is another vase fragment found in the tomb of King Dja. The figure under the *suten net* and the *nebti* titles is supposed by Dr. Sethe to be the figure of Ptah, which is given in the Abydos tablet as the cartouche of Semen-Ptah, or Σεμεψής, the 7th king of Manetho's 1st dynasty. He

* Dr. Sethe, in *Ä. Z.*, t. xxxv, p. 2. Maspero, in *Recueil de Travaux*, xvii, p. 66.

† *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, pp. 288 and 289.

‡ Sethe, *loc. cit.* In Mariette's *Abydos* (t. i, Pl. 43) the signs for the name

of Kebeh are given as 

PLATE III.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.

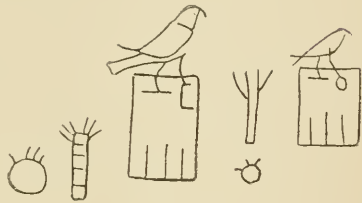


Fig. 4.

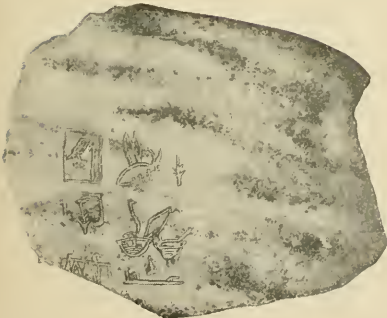


Fig. 2.



Fig. 5.

Figs. 1, 2 and 5, from AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos, 1895-1896*. In extenso edition. (Paris. Leroux, 1899.) Figs. 3 and 4, from DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'Egypte*, Tome II. (Paris. Leroux, 1898.)

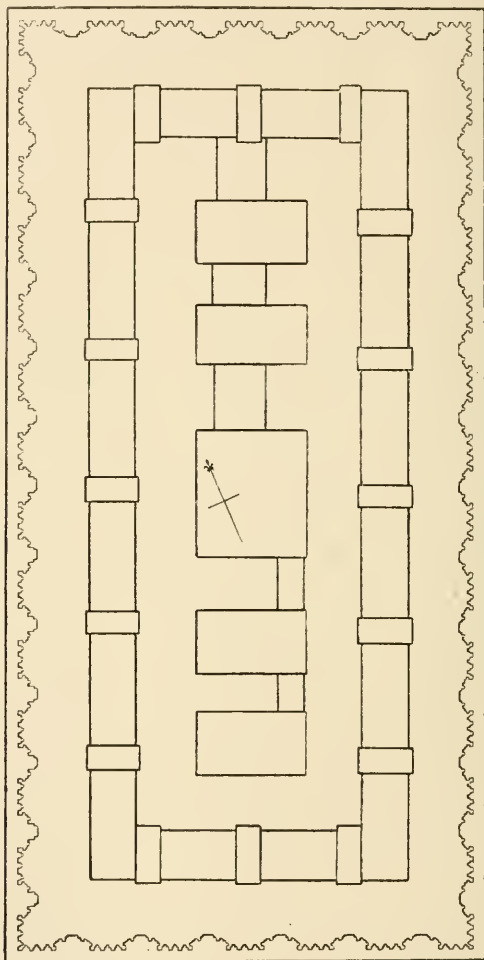
is without the staff and *menât* which usually distinguish the erect figures of Ptah, and no one, I think, has yet given more than a very qualified adhesion to this reading. The same remark applies to the two signs under the *suten net* which follows, which Dr. Sethe would read , the signs on the Abydos cartouche of Hesepti, the 5th king of the Ist dynasty. In this case, moreover, the Vulture and Uræus signs are not repeated, thereby indicating that some difference in rank between the king—if king he be—and the person preceding him is intended. Altogether it will be safest at present to treat this fragment as unread.

PART II.—NEGADAH.

The Royal Tomb.

In March, 1897, M. de Morgan began operations upon a mound to the north of a despoiled necropolis at Negadah. He had the assistance, during the whole progress of the works, of Prof. Wiedemann, M. Jéquier, and M. Lampre, and was thus able to keep a better record of his discoveries than M. Amélineau, working by himself or with only native assistance, had been able to do. Before long he laid bare a huge tomb measuring $54^m \times 27^m$, and evidently belonging to the same period of culture as the royal tombs of Abydos. The external walls were distinctive, being built in the first instance on a crenellated design with salient and re-entering angles, and then masked by a second wall of rectangular form. In the centre was a large chamber, evidently intended for the reception of the body, with two smaller chambers communicating on each side. This part of the tomb appears to have been built first, and then surrounded by an additional building of great thickness with sixteen external chambers along its sides. If we suppose that the five principal chambers were designed for funerary purposes—the calcined remains of a skeleton were actually found in the central one—and that those on the external plan were antechambers or chapels intended for the reception of votive offerings, we have at once an explanation of the construction and of the way in which *ex votis* might be deposited without disturbing the funerary chambers. A fire had been kindled in the central chamber, which had baked the bricks of the upper walls, but the large earthen jars with which, as at Abydos, the subsidiary chambers were filled, were arranged upright in regular order, and had

evidently not been disturbed or damaged since their deposition. On the other hand, all the vases of diorite and other hard stones which were found there had been broken into small fragments, evidently



with a ritual intention. In this case also only the foundation walls were found, and M. de Morgan thinks it possible that the superstructure may have been supported on wooden pillars. For the rest, the large earthen jars were of the same size and shape as those from

Abydos, they were sealed with clay and cylinder seals in the same way; and the hard stone vases were for the most part of the same design.* In only one respect did the Negadah monument differ from the early tombs of Abydos: the jar-sealings, cylinders, and ivories of Negadah all bore the Horus-name of one king only, and this was the Aha whose rectangle is given on Plate II, fig. 15, as having been found on a cylinder seal† at Abydos.

The Menes Tablet.

In this tomb also was found an ivory tablet, unfortunately much broken, containing, by the side of the hawk-crowned rectangle of Aha, other signs under a *nebti* title, which seemed capable of being read as  *Men*. From this Dr. Borchardt drew the conclusion that this was an abbreviation of Menes or Mena, the first king of Manetho's Ist dynasty, and M. Maspero having given a very qualified adherence to the theory, the Negadah tomb has been frequently spoken of since as that of Menes. In the current number of the *Recueil de Travaux*, however, M. Naville combats this theory, and shows (as it seems to me conclusively) that the signs in question denote the rest tent or "funerary pavilion" which the soul of the king was supposed to occupy after his death. This explanation, already foreshadowed by Prof. Wiedemann in these *Proceedings*,‡ will, I think, now be accepted by everyone, and I will only add to it, that if Aha had any other name, it was probably not Menes, but some word denoted by the three birds (said to be ostriches) which frequently appear either alone or by the side of his Horus-name on the Negadah monuments.§ The use of the Horus-name to the exclusion of any other royal title is not unknown so late as the XXVIth dynasty,|| and the word Aha, or "the fighter," agrees well with the names of the earliest hitherto known kings, "Ati le lutteur, Teti le coureur, Qenqoni

* The full details and excellent reproductions given in M. de Morgan's splendid book, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'Égypte*, must be my excuse for not giving further instances of this here.

† Also on a small ivory plaque from the same place (*Recherches*, t. ii, p. 241, fig. 814 and *infra* Pl. III, fig. 4). In some tombs adjoining that of King Den, but not excavated till last year, M. Amélineau found a great number of jar-sealings bearing the name of Aha.

‡ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XX, p. 113.

§ *Recherches*, t. ii, pp. 165 and 168.

|| Wiedemann, *loc. cit.*

l'écraseur," as M. Maspero puts it, which, according to him, are themselves significant of a half barbarous age.

Conclusions.

From these facts it seems to result that there reigned in Egypt during the period covered by the tombs at Abydos and Negadah, a series of kings ruling over the whole of Egypt whose names do not appear in any of the fragments of Manetho's lists which have yet come down to us. These kings governed a people sufficiently civilised to be skilled in the working of the precious metals, copper and bronze, already possessing the hieroglyphic characters, and capable of building vast monuments; skilled in pottery, and in the engraving of the hardest materials (including rock crystal); burning, instead of embalming, their dead, and deifying their dead kings, at whose tombs they made votive offerings. Beyond this it is not safe to go at present; but we are probably on the brink of a discovery which will tell us whence these kings came, and from what source their civilisation was inherited. As to their probable date, a great many theories have been broached, M. Amélineau's own notion being that they are the legendary Manes, or Νεκύες whom Manetho describes as reigning before Menes. Unfortunately, there is good reason to suppose that this supposed ante-mortal dynasty was invented at a time when cabalistic theories of a correspondence between Heaven and earth were rife, to agree with the Third Ennead or cycle of demi-gods, which the theologians of Heliopolis had placed after the First and Second Enneads, containing respectively the greater and lesser deities of their pantheon.* That King Aha is later in date than some of the Abydos kings, is plain from the appearance of votive jars bearing his seal in their tombs, and for the same reason we can put King Az-ab as later than King Den. But the only sound foundation for their absolute dating is probably the vase bearing the name of Merbapen, and found in the tomb of King Qâ. If this be really the Merbapen or Merbap given by Manetho as the 6th king of the 1st dynasty, King Qâ at any rate must have reigned before him; and with this *terminus ante quem*—to use Prof. Wiedemann's phrase—we must probably be content for the present. It should be noticed

* Maspero, *Etudes de Mythologie*, &c., t. ii, pp. 279, *sqq.*; Chassinat, *Les Νεκύες de Manéthon*, Rec. de Trav., t. xix, pp. 23, *sqq.*

that M. Amélineau returned to Om el-Ga'ab in 1897-1898, and there made other discoveries, including, according to his own statement, the tombs of Osiris, Horus, and Set; but it is impossible to discuss these until the full accounts of his work are before the public. I have not been able yet to find any valid connecting link between his first year's find and the objects discovered by M. Quibell at Hieraconpolis,* which appear to me—though I say it with great diffidence—to belong to another period of culture.

* The great slate palette of Hieraconpolis, a cast of which is now in the British Museum, contains in its upper register a rectangle (*not* hawk-crowned) bearing a cat-fish and chisel which have been held to make up the name of King Nar-mer (*v. A.Z.* xxxvi. 81). I do not think these signs are identical with those on the broken hawk-crowned rectangle given by Amélineau (*N.F.d'A.*, Pl. XLII, fig. 3).



HITTITE NOTES.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., ETC., *President*.

I. In December last (1898) I made a fresh collation of the latter part of the Treaty between Rameses II and the king of the Hittites, inscribed on the walls of Karnak, and first copied and published by M. Bouriant (*Recueil des Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et l'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, xiii, pp. 157-9). The light was unusually favourable, and I was therefore enabled not only to correct M. Bouriant's copy of the text, but also the readings of it which I sent to Dr. W. Max Müller two years ago. These corrections affect only the names of the countries and cities dedicated to the deities whose names are invoked by the Hittite parties to the Treaty; the other corrections, such as there are, are of minor importance, and do not modify the translation of a single passage.

It is different, however, with the geographical names. The readings I herewith give of them have been revised by me under various lights, and may be considered final. The gods and goddesses who are invoked are the following:—

(26) The Sun-god, the lord of heaven; the Sun-god of the city of the land of Aranna.

(27) Sutekh the lord of heaven. Sutekh of the land of the Hittites. Sutekh of the city of . . . (M. Bouriant reads "the land of Aranna," but the only characters of which I could find traces are ). Sutekh of the city of the land of Zanu-arnda. Sutekh of the city of the land of Pirqa. Sutekh of the city of the land of Khisa-sapa. Sutekh of the city of the land of Sarisu. Sutekh of the city of the land of Khirpa (Aleppo). Sutekh of the city of the land of Rukhasina.

Then comes a break of considerable length, the stone having crumbled away, and then we have:

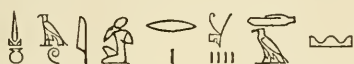
(28) [Sutekh of the city of the land of] To-[ni]sa. Sutekh of the city of the land of Sakhipaina. Antharta of the territory of the land

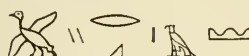
of the Hittites. The god of the land of Zainath-khirri. The god of Kar-za . . to . . . The god of Khirpa-ntaris. (29) The goddess of the city of [the land of] Kar-khn . . n . . . (Here there is another break.) The goddess of the land of (Kh?)uakh(?)a. The goddess of the land of Zain[th]. The god of [the land of] Z[a]i[na] . . ta(t?). The god of the land of Sa . . rpa. The god of the land of Khita (?).

Askhir the goddess, the mistress (30) of the mountains. The waters of the land of the Hittites. The gods of the land of Qizawadana.

In hieroglyphics the names are written thus :—

 *Aranna.*

 *Zanu-arnda.*

 *Pirqa.*

 *Khisa-sapa.*

 *Sarisu.*

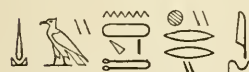
 *Khirpa.*

 *Rukhasina.*

 *To[ni]sa.*

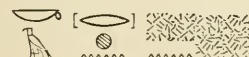
 *Sakhipaina.*

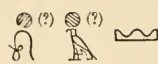
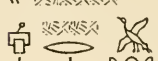
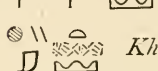
 *Askhir.*

 *Zainath-kherri.*

 *Kar-zai . . to . .*

 *Khirpa-ntaris.*

 *Kar-khn . . n . .*

 *Kh(?)uakh(?)a.*
 *Zain[th].*
 *Zai[na] . . tat(?).*
 *Sa . . rpa.*
 *Khita(?).*

In the last line of the inscription the name of the princess of Qizawadana, who is stated to be the Hittite queen, should be , Putu-khipa, not Puu-Khipa, as given by M. Bouriant.

The names of the cities deserve study. That of Aranna (or rather Arinna) occurs in the list of cities found by M. Chantre at Boghaz Keui, of which I have spoken in a former Paper. In Zanu-arnda we have the same termination as in Istunda, a country of which a certain Tukham was king in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. The termination is also found in the name of Garparunda, a king of Gurgum in B.C. 854, a name which is also written Garparuda and Girparuda. In the Vannic inscriptions we find it under the form of *ruadas* in Khite-ruadas, the name of two kings of Milid. Khite seems to be the god Khatê, the eponymous deity of the Hittite race, so that Garpa or Girpa would be another divinity. It may be noted that a contemporary of Tukham of Istunda was Us-khitti of Tuna (which I would identify with Tyana).

In Khisa-sapa the termination is identical with that of the city of Khatu-sipa in the Boghaz Keui list of towns, perhaps too with the first element in the name of the Hittite king Sapa-lulve, though it must be remembered that the latter name is written Subbi-luliuma in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

Sarisu is the Serise or Seresse of Tiglath-pileser I, which is stated to be in Kummukh or Komagênê, "on the further bank of the Tigris." It is identified by Delitzsch with the Sareisa of Strabo. The Vannic king Menuas places a "Hittite" city of the name of Surisilis in the same neighbourhood.

Khirpa or Khilpa has long since been identified with Aleppo.

Rukhasina must be the Rukhizi of the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

Akizzi, the governor of Qatna, says in a letter to Amenophis IV (*The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, 37), that "Teuwatti of the city of Lapana and Arzauya of the city of Rukhizi were in league with Aidaggama," or Etu-gama, the Hittite chieftain, who had made himself master of Kadesh on the Orontes in the land of Kinza or Gizzi, and that they had occupied the country of Ubi, the Aup of the Egyptian inscriptions, near Aleppo. Arzauya seems to be a derivative from Arzawa, "the man of Arzawa," which may throw light on the situation of that country.* As for Teuwatti, it is clearly the same as Tuates, the name of a king of Milid in the Vannic inscriptions, and we may also compare the name of Tutamu, king of the Khattinâ (erroneously read Patinâ) in B.C. 740. The city of Lapana may be the Lamena of Shalmaneser II, on the road to Tarsus.

Khirpa-ntaris is an interesting name, as it is evidently a derivative from Khirpa or Aleppo, formed by the suffix *tar* and the *s* of the nominative. It is possible that we have the same suffix in the name of the Khattinian town Khata-tirra.

Askhir, "the mistress of the mountains," is the Babylonian Iskhara, as is shown by a bilingual seal-cylinder in the Ashmolean Museum, on which Indilimma, the son of Serdamu, calls himself "the servant of the goddess Iskhara." In the corresponding Hittite

hieroglyphs the name is represented by the two symbols , where ,

the triangle may denote a mountain rather than a sacred cone. Iskhara was identified by the Babylonians with Istar, and it is possible was borrowed by them from the Hittites. But the borrowing may also have been on the reverse side.†

II. The Tel el-Amarna tablets show us the Hittites in the act of overrunning the Syrian possessions of Egypt. Thothmes III had already found them in the north of Syria, but it was not until the closing days of the XVIIIth dynasty that the weakness of Egypt allowed them to occupy the banks of the Euphrates and to penetrate as far south as Kadesh on the Orontes. The letters of Akizzi of

* Arzauya is elsewhere written Arzawaya, and there are letters from him to the Pharaoh, in one of which (W. and A. 125. 9) he gives the phrase, "I am a servant of the king my lord," as *ima laku bali-me* in his own language. *Me* or *mi* is the possessive pronoun of the first person in the language of Arzawa, *eme* in the Hittite hieroglyphic texts signifies "I (am)," and *bali* must be a loan-word from the Semitic *ba'al*. *Laku* may be read *ladur*.

† The first symbol is found on Cilician coins which M. Six ascribes to Issos (*Numismatic Chronicle* XV, 3rd Series, p. 200).

Qatna to Amenophis IV (not Amenophis III, as has been erroneously assumed), state that under the direction of "the king of the Hittites" the Hittite princes of Lapana and Rukhizzi had united with Aidagama in attacking Ubi, while Dasa (also written Tassu) had occupied the land of Amma. Amma must be the Ammo of the Old Testament to which Balaam belonged, of whom it is said (Numb. xxii, 5) that he came from Pethor "on the river (Euphrates) in the land of the children of Ammo." Pethor, near the junction of the Euphrates and Sajur, is still called a Hittite city by Shalmaneser II. It lay not very far to the north of Qatna, which, as I have pointed out in a previous Paper, was on the Khabur. A letter from Rabi-Khar of Gebal terms it the land of Am, and states that it had already been conquered by Itakama with the help of the kings of the Hittites and Narima or Naharaim. A similar statement is made by two other correspondents of the Pharaoh, who say that Itagama had marched into Am "at the head of the Hittite soldiers."*

Whether Itagama had already made himself master of Kadesh, or whether the Hittite conquest of the latter city followed the conquest of Am, is doubtful. At all events, one of the letters in the British Museum (No. 43) states that Arzawaya (of Rukhizzi) had marched against the land of Gizza along with Itakama, and that they were threatening the territory of Abitu. When Abimelech of Tyre wrote, Itakama was already *pa-wari* (Egn. *pa-ur*), or "lord, of Kadesh." Itakama however was not yet secure in his new conquest, and accordingly we have a letter from him to the Egyptian government, in which he excuses himself for his invasion of Kadesh and Ubi on the ground that he was driving the Bedouin out of them in the Pharaoh's name. Ubi, it is clear, is the Abitu of the other letter; the land of Gizza, in which Kadesh was situated, is elsewhere spelt Kinza.

In these letters we assist, as it were, at the Hittite conquest of northern Syria and Kadesh on the Orontes. Hamath must have fallen into Hittite hands at the same time, since it was north of Kadesh; it was, however, an unimportant town, and is therefore unnoticed. It was only after the fall of the Hittite power that it rose on the ruins of Kadesh. On the banks of the Euphrates Pethor and the surrounding district became Hittite; even Qatna on the

* It would seem from W. and A., 143, 14, 15. that "the soldiers of the land of the Hittites" who conquered Am were called Lupakku; but the passage is obscure, and "*lup-paggu* of bronze" are mentioned among the wedding presents sent by Dusratta to Amenophis III (W. and A. 26, IV, 28).

Khabur was burned by the Hittite king, and its image of the sun-god carried off.

Other letters, sent to the Pharaoh by the Amorite Aziru, tell us that Tunip, now Tennib, to the north-west of Aleppo, was also captured by the Hittite invaders. It was the chief fortress of the Egyptians in northern Syria and defended the province on the north; its fall, therefore, meant the overthrow of the Egyptian power in that part of the world.

In Tunip, however, as well as on the banks of the Euphrates, the Hittites came into conflict with another powerful kingdom, that of Mitanni. The ruling class of Mitanni seem to have come from the plateau of Armenia; at all events their power had once extended westward of the Euphrates as far as the Orontes. This is shown by the fact that in a letter addressed by the people of Tunip to the Egyptian king, certain native words are introduced which are purely Mitannian. They are added where the Assyrian translation failed to represent the exact sense of the original draft of the letter. First of all Thothmes III is called *ammati-pi-ta*, "thy ancestor;" then we have *naprillan*, "college of priests," and, finally, *ammati*, "elders." *Ammati* is given as a gloss upon the Assyrian *laberute*, *naprillan* upon *muta-ssu* which corresponds to *mute-su sa biti* in a parallel passage in a letter of Akizzi (*The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, 36, Rev. 7). *Ammati* (or *ammati-ppi*) occurs in the letter of the Mitannian king Dusratta, where I long ago explained it as meaning "grandfather," and *-pi* and *-illan* are both of them characteristic Mitannian suffixes. The native language of Tunip, consequently, must have been Mitannian, and the influence or government of Mitanni must once have extended thus far to the west.*

It would appear that such was also the case as regards Nukhassi, the Anaugas of the Egyptian monuments. At all events, in a letter from that district (*Winckler and Abel*, 143, 11), *zuzilaman* is given as the native equivalent of the Assyrian *pani-sunu tsabat*, "accept them." The termination of this word is again distinctively Mitannian.

It is probable that the country known to the Assyrians as Kummukh, on the northern border of Mitanni, was also once under Mitannian influence. But it had become Hittite before the age of Tiglath-pileser I. From his time onwards the names of the kings of

* The inclusion of Tunip in the Mitannian "sphere of influence" is also indicated by the fact that one of the ambassadors of Dusratta of Mitanni was named Tunip-ipri, "the prince of Tunip" (*The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, 2, 47).

Kummukh recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions are all Hittite; indeed, one of them, Khattu-sar, is compounded with the name of the eponymous Hittite god, and is identical with that of the Hittite opponent of Rameses II.*

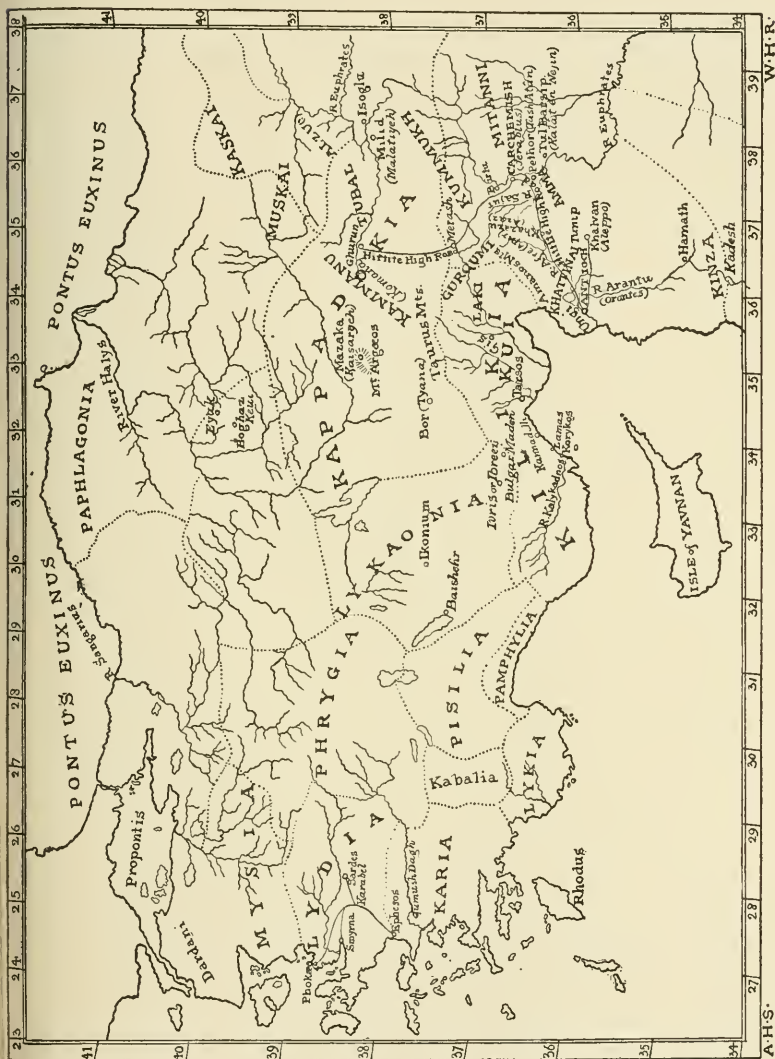
III. Tiglath-pileser I states that the Muskâ or Moschi, who for fifty years had held the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzi in subjection, invaded Kummukh. Alzi and Purukuzzi lay on the southern bank of the Euphrates between Palu and Khini, and were regarded as forming part of the Assyrian province of Subari or Subarti. The cities of Subarti, Tiglath-pileser further informs us, had been captured by "4,000 men of the Kaskâ and the Urumâ, soldiers of the Hittites," and on this account Alzi and Purukuzzi had withheld their tribute. At first sight, therefore, it would appear as if the Muskâ and the Hittites were identified together. Closer study of the text, however, shows that such is not the case, and that the invasion of Alzi by the Hittites was subsequent to its occupation by the Muskâ. The Hittites were never dislodged by the Assyrian kings, and three centuries after Tiglath-pileser, the Vannic conqueror Menuas found them still in possession of the land of Alzi.

IV. The name hitherto read Patinâ should be Khattinâ. The Khattinâ, according to the Assyrian inscriptions, occupied the district between the Afrin and the Gulf of Antioch on the northern bank of the Orontes, and immediately to the south of the kingdom of Samalla or Gurgum, the capital of which is now marked by the ruins of Sinjerli. The name Khattinâ is a derivative from Khatti or "Hittites." In the Vannic inscriptions Khâti-na signifies "belonging to the Hittites," and in one of the Arzawa letters we find *SARR-us Khattannas*, "the Hittite king." The kingdom of the Khattinâ is therefore simply the kingdom "of the Hittites," and was one of the relics which survived the wreck of the Hittite empire in northern Syria. According to Tiglath-pileser III, it was properly the kingdom of Unqi, a name of which Umk is the modern descendant, as I first pointed out twenty years ago.

Down to the time of its extinction by Tiglath-pileser III, the names of its rulers, as given on the Assyrian monuments, are all

* Hittite names continued to be borne by natives of Kummukh after its conquest by the Assyrians. Mar-larim, or Mar-la'rve, the eponym for B.C. 668, is stated to have come from Kummukh, and the second element in his name is certainly the same as that which we find in the name of Tarkhu-lara, king of Gurgum. *Mar* is probably the divine name *Mur*, which we have in Mur-sar, assimilated to the Assyrian *mar*, "son."

Hittite, like the names of the kings of Gurgum, of Kummukh, and of Milid. Thus we have Lubarna (also written Luburna and Libarna),



the first element in which is the same as in Luba-sunna, one of the Hittite chieftains mentioned by Rameses II; Sapa-lulvi, the Sapa-lul of the treaty between Rameses and the Hittites, who writes his own

name Subbi-luliuma in one of the Tel el-Amarna letters, and Girparunda, the Garparunda of Gurgum, with which the Garbatus of the Egyptian texts must be compared. Shalmaneser II mentions a Khattinian prince of whose name only the final part . . . sun has been preserved. This is evidently to be found again in Luba-sunna, and probably also in the Cilician name Suennesis. Among the Khattinian cities were Khata-tirra, in which we have the name of the Hittite, Kulma-dara, with which the name of the Arzawa king Tarkun-daraus must be compared as well as that of Kulma-kulma on a Cappadocian tablet in the collection of M. de Clercq, which has been quoted by Dr. Scheil, and Tarma-nazi (or Tarku-nazi), where the second element is that found in the name of the Milidian king Tarkhu-nazi. The same element is met with in Nazianzus, perhaps also in Suennesis, where the first element may represent the god Šuin or Zuin, found in proper names in the Cappadocian tablets.*

The names of the cities of the Khattinâ also agree in form with those of the Boghaz Keui list. Most of the latter end in *-iya*, and among the towns of the Khattinâ mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions are Kinalia or Kunulua, Nulia and Taya or Tae.

V. Twenty years ago, in my Paper on *The Monuments of the Hittites*, I first pointed out that the "White Syrians" whom Strabo places in Cappadocia, were the Hittites. Indeed, Herodotus expressly calls the people of Pteria (Boghaz Keui or Eyuk) "Syrians" (i, 76; cp. i, 72, v, 49, vii, 72). These "White Syrians" Strabo states (xii, 3, p. 473), on the authority of Mæandrius, were the ancestors of the Eneti or Veneti, who were the same as the Cappadocians. They inhabited "all that part of Cappadocia which adjoins the Halys and borders on Paphlagonia, where two dialects are used, and Paphlagonian words are numerous."

It would seem therefore that the Hittites of Cappadocia called themselves Veneti. Now I have published in the *Proceedings* of this Society an inscription on a griffin's head of red stone, found in Cappadocia, and now, I believe, in the Louvre, which is in the cuneiform characters of the Amardian syllabary, and reads: *Ku-ar-u-van* KING *Van-tu-vas*, "Kuaruvan the Vantuvian king." *Van-tu-vas* I should explain as a derivative from *Van-tu*, and see in the latter the name of the Veneti. In this case Kuaruvan will be the name of a

* Compare the name of the city Madaranzu by the side of that of Madara in Nistun in the inscriptions of Assur-natsir-pal (W.A.I. III, 6, *Rev.* 10, 15, 18).

Hittite king, and the suffix *-vas* or *-was* an adjectival termination.* The phonetic combination *ua* reminds us of Cilician names like Kuas and Kuales found in Greek inscriptions at Hamaxia, as well as of the Hittite Arzauya or Arzawayā. In the *Iliad*, II, 852, the Veneti are placed in Paphlagonia, on the banks of the river Parthenius, and therefore on the west side of the Halys. Eastward, near the mouth of the Thermôdon, was Khadisia, "a city of the White Syrians," according to Hecataeus as quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus. Khadisia is evidently a Kadesh, or "Sacred City," like Kadesh on the Orontes, and the banks of the Thermôdon were said to be the home of the Amazons.

VI. The fifth campaign of Sennacherib was directed against "the people of the city of Tumurri," the city of Ukku, the people of Cilicia, and Til-Garimme "on the Tibarenian frontier." Tumurri was situated among the fastnesses of Mount Nipur, and after destroying it Sennacherib "turned" eastward against Maniyae of Ukku, over rugged mountains which had not previously been traversed by an Assyrian king. Nipur, it has been generally agreed, is Mount Taurus, and the campaign must consequently have been somewhere to the north of Cilicia. In Tumurri, or Tuwurri as the name may also be read, we may have the original form of the name Taurus; at all events, Tumurri must be the same as Timur, "the stronghold" of Katê of the Qauê on the western slope of Mount Amanus, mentioned by Shalmaneser II on the Black Obelisk (l. 128). Shalmaneser further speaks of "Mount Tumar" (as the text really reads), "a mountain of silver," on the confines of the Tubal or Tibareni (*Black Ob.*, ll. 106, 107). This can hardly be the Bulgar Dagħ where the Hittites mined for silver, as the Tibareni seem to have been too far to the east, but it may be the Alyba of Homer (*Il.* II, 857), in the territory of the Halizonians, "from whence silver was brought."†

However this may be, Sennacherib enumerates along with Tumurri the cities of Sarum, Ezama, Kipsu, Khalpuda, Qûa and Qana. Sarum has the same name as the river which rises in Cataonia and forces its way through the range of the Taurus; Kipsu must be the Kipsuna of Tiglath-pileser in the territory of Qumani or Comana; Khalpuda

* Compare the termination of Samalius, "the Samalian" of Samalla, a Hittite chief mentioned by Rameses II.

† Prof. Maspero has identified Mount Tumar with the Aghir-dagh above Marash, where there is a silver mine, as well as two quarries of pink and black marble (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1898, xx, pp. 133, 134).

I would identify with the modern Kharput; and Qûa brings us to the Quê, called Qauê by Shalmaneser II, who inhabited the south-eastern part of Cilicia, and in whose territory Tarsus was included. I believe that Cataonia and Tyana were also comprised in it, and that in Cataonia, as compared with Lykaonia from the Lukki of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, we have a derivative from the name of Kati, king of the Quê in 850 B.C. The same word is found in the name of his contemporary, Katu-zilu or Kata-zilu, king of Kummukh. The name reappears in Greek geography as Kêtis, the Kêteioi occupying the same district as the Quê of the Assyrian inscriptions. With Quê we may compare the Cilician name Kuas, as well as the Qauî-sar of the Egyptian monuments.*

VII. The fact that the bilingual inscription of Tarkondêmos has helped us so little towards the decipherment of the Hittite texts, has always seemed to me a proof that we cannot have interpreted it correctly, and I now have a new explanation of it to propose. In some of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, more especially those of the king of Jerusalem, we find the combination *mat ali*, "country of the city," while a letter from a son of the Egyptian Pharaoh (W. and A., 29. 1, 8) speaks of *mat ali Misri* and *mat ali Khatti*. In the bilingual inscription I would accordingly read ideographically instead of phonetically, and translate "king of the land of the city" instead of "king of the land of Er—." In this case the corresponding Hittite sign , which seems to me to represent a plough, would mean "city," and not have the phonetic value of *er* as I used to suppose. This agrees well with its position in certain passages in the Hittite texts, e.g., H. II, 2, III, 1, V, 2, as well as Bulgar Maden 2, where it is followed by the ideograph of country. On the other hand, there are passages where it must be used phonetically.

We should naturally expect that in the bilingual inscription the words "land of the city" would be followed by the name of the city or country of which Tarkondêmos was king. But a country or city of the name of Mê is so unlikely, that in spite of the strangeness of the expression I am inclined to see in *mê* the Hittite first personal pronoun. The letters of Arzawa and the Boghaz Keui fragments have shown that the cuneiform syllabary was used for the

* Dr. W. Max Müller connects the name of Kuinda, a Cilician city mentioned by Strabo, with Quê. However this may be, Kuinda is the Kundi of the Assyrian inscriptions, in the neighbourhood of Sizu (the modern Sis), whose king, Sandu-arri, was conquered by Esar-haddon.

Hittite dialects, and that *mi* denoted the possessive pronoun of the first person. Consequently I should now read the bilingual inscription as follows: *Tar-qu-u-dim-me* SAR MAT ALI *me-e*, "Tarkondêmos king of the land of the city am I." Perhaps there is support for this reading in the fact that the cuneiform characters *me-e* are immediately above the head of the figure of the king, and that there is a space between them and the ideograph of city.

VIII. The two chief obstacles to our decipherment of the Hittite texts are the scantiness and imperfection of our materials, and the uncertain reading of so much of them. Where both the language and the system of writing are unknown, it is impossible to copy correctly characters which are at all injured. The corrected copies of the Hamath inscriptions published by Mr. Rylands* illustrate the danger of building systems of decipherment upon texts which have not been examined by the decipherer himself, and I should advise those who did not spend hours over the squeezes of the Bulgar Maden inscription, when they arrived in England, to leave that inscription alone.

Another difficulty in the way of decipherment is that of knowing when characters which resemble one another are really different signs or only variant forms of one and the same. Thus a comparison of the Jerablûs texts shows us that the first ideograph in

J. II  is merely a variant of the face-sign, that the sixth character

is a variant of the head of the goat , and that the depressed

hand   in line six is a variant of the hieratic and more

usual  which has developed (or degenerated)† through the

forms found in J. II and J. III  and on the bowl .

But, on the other hand, is the crook  merely a variant of the lituus  or a distinct character? And what relation do the various

* Prof. Sayce having very kindly asked me to add a note on the forms of various characters as they occurred to me, in drawing and re-drawing the inscriptions, I do so with great pleasure in the hope that some of the notes may assist in the graphic decipherment of the characters.—W. H. R.

† The latest addition to the series of changes the depressed hand has passed through, though hardly to be recognised is , found in the centre of the Skanderûn inscription. Face I, line 3.—W. H. R.

hieroglyphs which seem to denote "king" and "country" bear to one another?*

Then again does the same character possess more than one phonetic value? The analogy of other systems of hieroglyphic writing would lead us to suppose that it did, and that a character could be used both ideographically (or as a determinative) and phonetically. The number of characters used phonetically, however, does not appear to be large. In fact, the comparatively small number of signs found altogether in the inscriptions is somewhat puzzling, and can be accounted for only on the supposition that the writing is for the most part ideographic. But there are a few signs which appear repeatedly, more especially as suffixes, and these signs must obviously be phonetic.

Those which appear the oftenest will be the vowels and the grammatical terminations of the nouns or verbs. But even of these the number is so limited that I am driven to the conclusion I published years ago, that like the Cypriote syllabary the phonetic characters of the Hittite script made no distinction between *tenues* and *medie*. The conclusion has since been confirmed by the Tel el-Amarna letters, in which we find the *tenues* and *medie* interchanged in Hittite proper names. Thus the name of the Hittite prince of Kadesh is written A-i-dag-ga-ma, E-tak-ka-ma, I-ta-ka-ma and I-ta-ga-ma; Dasa is also written Tassu, and *b* and *p* are repeatedly interchanged.†

In the use of ideographs and determinatives the Hittite script would naturally be principally influenced by the cuneiform system of

* Our copies of the texts have not always reproduced these ideographs correctly. There are three ideographs for "king," the cap  or , the more hieratic , and the still more conventionalised . The ideographs for "country," on the other hand, are ,  (which seems due to Egyptian influence), and  or . The constant association of the ideographs of "king" and "country" caused them to be assimilated to one another.

† Similarly the Hadrach of the Old Testament appears as Khata-rikka in the Assyrian texts, where a comparison with the name of the Khattinian town Khata-tirra seems to show that we have a compound of Khata or "Hittite." The Arzawa letters, however, contain the word *khatrikki*.

writing with which it was so long in contact, but after the rise of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty it is probable that the Egyptian hieroglyphs, which bore so close a resemblance to it, would also affect it to a certain extent. It is to this Egyptian influence that I should ascribe the repetition of determinatives, the constant employment of them—at all events in some of the texts—and the mode in which, I believe, the word they determine is sometimes *enclavé* by them.*

Dr. Peiser has suggested that  or  is the determinative of a “city.” There can be no doubt that the character is sometimes used phonetically, but I believe that he is partially right in his suggestion. The character, I believe, denotes “place” or “locality,” and corresponds to the cuneiform *KI*. Like *KI* it usually follows the word determined by it, but it may also precede it, in which case it was probably pronounced. For instances of its use as a determinative see H. II, 2, III, 2 (where, if we adopt my new explanation of the Tarkondêmos boss, it would be preceded by the words “prince of the land of the city of [Kadesh ?]”), V. 2, J. III, 2, 3.

In J. III, 2, 3, it follows the picture of a house , ,  (followed by two phonetic signs) as well as the word   after which comes a verb represented by the ideograph of a mason's square  , and the determinative of “action.” On the Bagdad bowl it is attached to the same word, which as it consists of the pictures of two altars and a standard (which may have a phonetic value here), I believe to signify a “sanctuary.” In H. V, 2 it is again attached to the same word, and precedes a word    which, for reasons given by me fifteen years ago, I read *ku-u-e*. Then comes an ideograph which from the parallel passage in J. III, 4, where it is preceded by the determinative of divinity, we know to be the name of a god. In H. V, 3, however, the word *kûe* (which is followed by the name of the god Sandan ) is preceded by a determinative representing an image or doll . I therefore give to *kûe* the

* I must apologise for the use of this French word, but we have no English equivalent. I mean that a word is as it were shut in between two determinatives which both precede and follow it.

signification of "image," and since in J. III, 4,     the boot accompanies the phonetic characters *ku-u-e*, it must have the value of *kûe*.

Now D. Leopold Messerschmidt, in his merciless dissection of Prof. Jensen's "decipherment" of the Hittite inscriptions, comes to the conclusion (which, however, he subsequently rejects) that in the title of the kings of the Bor (B.) and Bulgar Maden (B. M.) inscriptions we have the name of the Quê. The inscriptions belong to the territory of the people who are called by the name of Quê on the Assyrian monuments, and we should therefore expect to find it in the native texts. And the title which we actually find (B. I, 1, B. M. 1), is   , that is to say, the ideograph of "country," the boot and the nominative suffix -s, agreeing with the nominative suffix of the royal name. The same title is also met with at Merash (M. I).*

At Bor the title is followed by another title (with the nominative suffix) which precedes it at Bulgar Maden. This second title, I believe, must contain the name of Tyana, which is now represented by Bor. In the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, Tyana appears as Tuna, of which Us-khitti was king.

IX. Dr. Messerschmidt has published at the end of his *Bemerkungen zu den hethitischen Inschriften*, an interesting Hittite inscription from Skanderûn. When M. Menant sent me a copy of it in 1889, I remarked to him in a letter that it contained the symbols of the Hittite numerals, and that as the numerals up to 9 were denoted by

* As Merash was not in the territory of the Quê, the name cannot have the same signification at Merash as at Bor. Now in a symbolic picture at Boghaz Keui the high-priest is represented supporting the solar disk on his head while he stands upon the boot. The boot, therefore, symbolizes the earth. On two of the Schlumberger seals (15 and 16) the arch of the sky stands above the boot, and in one of them the two symbols replace the figure of the god who stands upon a panther. In J. IV, 4, 4, the arch and the boot, each with the same suffix, are coupled together with the head of an ass between them, which must therefore express the copulative conjunction. They will here signify "heaven and earth," or more probably "above and below." In J. I, 1,   the boot may represent the postposition "under" ("under the god" or "god-born"). At any rate, at Merash I should explain it as the phonetic complement of the ideograph of "country," the name of the country (? Khana) following it immediately. In this case the Quê will be simply "the natives." Qumani is the Assyrian equivalent of Komana, where the goddess Ma was worshipped, and an obvious interpretation of the name is Qu-ma-na, "the land of Ma."

the perpendicular line (Gurun II, 5),  must signify 10 and  100. Dr. Messerschmidt has independently arrived at the same conclusion, which we may therefore consider to be settled. But he has not noticed that there seems to be another numerical symbol   in the inscription, which must represent either 1000 or (more probably) the soss, 60. The inscription shows that I was right in the conclusion I came to nearly twenty years ago, that  is the determinative of plurality, since the words preceded by the numerals are followed by this ideograph. To most of them, moreover, the suffix  is attached. See also H. IV. 2. In the Arzawa letters the plural ends in -d as in *bibbid*, "chariots," and -s as in *GAL-GAL-as*, "great ones," so we may assume that the suffix represents a syllable which terminated in one or other of these sounds.

X. Dr. Messerschmidt points out that the vase  which usually accompanies the name of the god Sandan must be its phonetic complement, and therefore probably had the value of *da*. A seal-cylinder lately published by Dr. Hayes Ward shows that he is right, as here the name of Sandan, with its phonetic complement, is coupled with that of the deity of Carchemish. The name of the god, followed by the vase and the vowel *e*, is also found at the beginning of the inscription of Agrak (near Kaisariyeh), where it must plainly represent the dative, "to the god Sandan." The inscription on the Bagdad bowl, on the other hand, has the name of the god (like the Ivris text) without the vase.

This inscription begins with a picture of a bowl , preceded by the crook , which must therefore denote the demonstrative pronoun, and followed by the suffix of the accusative (the gloved hand  , -n). Then comes the name of Sandan with the

boot and altar ( ) and then the group which I believe    to mean "sanctuary,"    consisting of a pair of altars and a

standard. To this is attached the same suffix as in H. I. 3, namely the depressed hand. The general sense of this is clear; it can only

mean, "This bowl for use in the sanctuary of Sandan X (or X and Y) has (or have) "made" or "dedicated."

XI. The verb "to make" seems to be expressed by an instrument resembling a builder's trowel , followed by the suffix *ku*.

The same ideograph, with the nominative suffix *-s*, follows the word which I suppose to mean "sanctuary" in J. III, 5, and in the fourth line of that inscription is coupled with the words "image of the god (Khata)," and the picture of a house. At Ivris it follows the words "image of the god Sandan." As it replaces the picture of a mason's square in the second line of J. III I conclude that it signifies "to make" or "build."

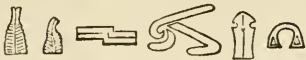
Another form of the same ideograph occurs , with the suffix *ku*, in H. I, 3, II, 3, where it is followed by the word "sanctuary" and the depressed hand. Then comes another verb represented by a hand grasping a staff and furnished with two suffixes (or with one suffix expressed by two characters) which differ from the suffix of the first verb, and therefore presumably denote a different person. Lastly come a proper name with the nominative suffix and the ideograph of "king."

All this can admit of only one signification. It must mean: "I have built (or restored) this sanctuary which X the king destroyed" (or "founded"). The depressed hand will accordingly denote either the relative "which," or, as is more probable, the demonstrative "this." The exact meaning of the second verb must remain doubtful as long as it is uncertain what exactly is meant by the staff(?) in the ideograph which denotes it.* In H. IV, 2, 3, where the verb is written phonetically, the first character used to represent its pronunciation may be either the plough or a knife, and in H. V, 1, a second determinative is added to it, a head with a word(?) issuing from the mouth. Perhaps, however, the latter has merely a causative sense, "command to destroy" or "found."

* An idea I have long held with reference to this character is that when held in the hand  it had a meaning connected with "strength" or "power."

A more simple explanation and extension of this meaning would be to "support" or "establish," which would agree with Prof. Sayce's interpretation. The staff alone occurs lying under the characters, mentioned by Prof. Sayce in the previous note. It is found in the same position with different groups of characters on several of the fragments from Jerabis.—W. H. R.

XII. Fifteen years ago I suggested that in the second line of

H. I, II and III  we had the words

“king of the Hittites,” on the ground that a similar group of characters follows the ideographs of “king” and “country” in J. III, 2.* It was merely a guess, supported by the fact that, so far as we know from history, the only territorial title common to the princes of Hamath and Carchemish would be “king of the Hittites.” I still believe that my guess was right, though I now doubt whether the title belonged to the prince of Hamath (or Kadesh), who was rather the vassal of the Hittite king. But I can now strengthen my guess in more than one way. The ideograph

 to which I attach the value of *Khatta*, “Hittite,” represents

“water,”† and is also the name of a god (see J. III, 4,  where

it is preceded by the determinative of divinity; also J. I, 5, II, 4, 6, III, 5, H. V, 2). We know from the name of *Khata-sar* (or *Khattu-sar*) that *Khata* or *Khatta* was an eponymous deity, like *Qaui* or *Que* (in *Kaui-sar*), *Khilip* (Aleppo) in *Khilip-sar*, &c. Furthermore, it is noticeable that the Hittite region in northern Syria between the Euphrates and the Orontes was just the *Nahrina* or “River-land” of the Egyptian monuments. According to the treaty between the Hittites and Rameses II, the Hittites worshipped “the waters of the land of the Hittites,” and in J. II, 4, 6, we have the ideograph of water followed by the numeral 6, and the arm with a dagger

  . The latter is usually a determinative expressing action or power, but in J. III, 5 it is attached to a word

   which in line 3 precedes the ideograph of “king.”

When, therefore, it is used alone it must represent this word, and

* Since my suggestion was made, the obelisk of Izgin near Albistan has been discovered, on which the sign which I would read *Khatta* is again attached to the ideograph of “country” (A 4, B 3, D 4, 5). It was therefore a territorial title, used alike in Hamath, Carchemish and Kataonia, that is to say, the precise region in which the Hittites are placed by the Egyptian, Assyrian and Vannic inscriptions.

† I am glad to find that Prof. Sayce has arrived at this conclusion, as I had independently formed the idea that this character probably represented a canal or river.—W. H. R.

have some such meaning as "great" or "powerful." Hence the meaning of the phrase in J. II, 4, 6, will be, "the six great water-gods."*

That they are gods is indicated by the fact that in line 4 the phrase is followed by a picture of two men embracing  each other, which must signify something like "loved by" or "loving," and that in line 1 this picture follows the name of a deity.

I shall henceforth assume, therefore, that the group of characters



at the end of H. I, 2, means "king of the land of the

Hittites," and corresponds with the Arzawa *SARR-us Khattannas*. Comparing the various forms of the group together, we shall then get the following values for the characters composing the ethnic name:

 or  *khatta*,  *tan*,  *nas* (or possibly *na*),

 *a*. In J. III, 2, the reading will be *khat(ta) -tan-n-e-n*.

If the depressed hand (*tan*) signifies the suffixed demonstrative pronoun, the latter would be *tan* in Hittite. We find the termination *tan* both in the Arzawa letters and in the Boghaz Keui fragments.

XIII. We are still completely ignorant of the relative chronology of the Hittite monuments, and have no materials for settling it. The discoveries of M. Chantre, however, show that they go back to at least the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, while some of them, like those found in Cilicia, may come down to the Greek period, and contain Greek names written in Hittite characters. Similarly in northern Syria we may expect to find Semitic names, phonetically spelt, in the Hittite texts, as well as words borrowed from Assyrian. Indeed, a

* A cylinder in the Tyskiewicz collection, published by M. Reinach in the *Revue Arch.*, vol. XXXII, June, 1898, p. 421, and Plate IX, besides the scenes represented round the drum, has at the base, within a double ring of spiral ornaments, six heads in a circle, with two other signs which I am unable to distinguish clearly. M. Reinach describes the whole as "eight Hittite characters." The six in a circle are clearly the heads of a man, a lion, a bull, a lion full-faced, a goat, and an eagle; these heads, I would suggest, are not characters but emblems of the gods.

The scene on the cylinder appears to be sacrificial, as M. Reinach states, and it is to be noticed that on the lowest tier, *i.e.* in front of the main scene, appear together with vases, etc., two other heads, that of a bull, and some other animal without horns similar to one of the symbols also already known from the inscriptions.—W.H.R.

people could not well use the cuneiform syllabary and write (like Sapalulve) in the Babylonian language without borrowing some Babylonian words.

What is the age of the Hittite inscriptions of Hamath? So far as we know there were no Hittite princes there after the age of David. In fact the Hittite occupation of Hamath must belong to the time when Kadesh on the Orontes was a Hittite city, since Kadesh lay to the south of Hamath. While the Hittite power lasted Kadesh was the predominant city; it was only with the rise of Semitic influence that Hamath took its place.

The Hamathite inscriptions must therefore belong to the period between the fall of the Asiatic empire of Egypt at the end of the eighteenth dynasty and the foundation of the Hebrew monarchy, that is to say, between B.C. 1400 and 1000. Beyond this we cannot at present go.

But it must be remembered that during this period Hamath was merely a subordinate town dependent on Kadesh "in the land of Kinza" (or Gizza). Like Etagama of Kadesh or Arzauya of Rukhizzi, its prince was merely a vassal of "the great king of the Hittites." Moreover, it is questionable whether he was prince of Hamath at all. It is more probable that he took his title from the dominant city of Kadesh, like Etagama.

Under these circumstances we must not expect to find the prince who is commemorated on the Hamathite stones entitling himself "king of the Hittites," or even calling himself "prince of Hamath." If the king of the Hittites is mentioned on them, as I believe is the case, he will be a different personage from the author of the inscriptions, and the territory over which the latter claims rule will be likely to be Kadesh or Kinza rather than Hamath.

Now let us examine the beginning of the Hamath texts. After a great deal of hesitation I have returned to my original idea (*Transactions S. B. A.*, V. I, 1876, p. 24), that the first word

   *eme* (also written *emea*), signifies "I," though there is much to be said in favour of the view that it denotes "he says." Then comes the arch or basket-handle, , the ideograph of what is "above." Here it must signify "prince," as in B. M. 2, where it interchanges with the ideograph of "king" in line 3.* Next comes

* At Gurun it is placed over the determinatives of deity, and so must either signify "supreme" or indicate that the gods were those of the sky and not of Hades.

a determinative, the exact signification of which is still doubtful, and then the nominative *tan-me-s*, followed by the word-divider. This word-divider, by the way, is the same as the oblique wedge which similarly divides words in the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets. In *tan-me-s* (or *dan-we-s*) we have the phonetic equivalent of the ideograph of "prince."* On the bowl (where it precedes the determinative of place) and in H. V. 3 (where it is attached to the name of Sandan) the ideograph (the arch) is used alone. In J. I, 1 (*Determinative e-me-a u-(arch)-c-s*) it determines the word *ues*, which I should identify with the *ueu* and *uewa* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Then comes a phonetically-spelt proper name with the nominative suffix, the last syllable of which is represented by the sign *n*, and the second by the arch here used phonetically. Next comes the ideograph which, as has long since been recognised, corresponds to the Assyrian *rabu*, with the nominative suffix and a determinative which, as far as my observation goes, is attached only to derivative adjectives, including patronymics, and which is often accompanied by what in certain cases is its phonetic equivalent, *ku-s* or *ku-e-s*. Next comes a phonetically-spelt name (with the same determinative) which analogy would lead us to infer was the name of the prince's father,† and then the ideographs of "king" and "country."

* At Bulgar Maden (3), as also probably at Ivris,  takes the place of *me(s)*. The word occurs in Gurun II, 2, after "Etagametarkus (?) the king," and so replaces the *aba-ka-li* of G. III, 3.

This fist and arm, without the dagger, appears in various forms, easily recognised. The character on the bowl  and at Ivris  puzzled me for some time, but I now feel satisfied that they represent the closed fist. Having once lost its actual form, it is probably not impossible to identify it with . The character Prof. Sayce interprets as altar, I would compare with

the altar censer ; the object connected with the altar having been taken to

represent the thing itself. No representation of an altar of the form found on the rock carvings is, so far as I am aware, given in the inscriptions.—W. H. R.

† At Carchemish, J. II, 1, we have "I am" (or "he says," represented by the human profile and an onion"?) "Etagame-tarkus (?) the king of the country of the Bull (cp. the Taurus mountains, called Nipur by the Assyrians) and the country of the Hittites." At Bulgar Maden the formula is, "I am Sanda-n- * *, the city lord, the Tyanian, the son of Sanda-e- * *, the mighty, the prince (?), of the family of Eukaes, the Quan." At Bor, "Eukaes, the son of * -e-n-es, the king of the land of Qua, the Tyanian, am I" (represented by the human profile and onion). At Malatiyeh, "Sanda- * -n- * -s, the Milidian (?) am I (human profile

XIV. Analogy would lead us to infer that at the end of inscriptions, like those of Gurun and Bulgar Maden, various gods would be invoked to protect the monument, and curse those who should destroy or injure it. And such, I believe, is the case. The last line of each of these inscriptions contains the names of a number of gods. At Bulgar Maden the list begins, as is natural, with the name of Sandan, "the god of the district," and the fourth column from the end of the line contains the picture of a tablet or stela. At the end comes a

character  which enters into that of the king mentioned in H. I, 3, and which ought to mean "to protect."

The determinative of "god"  seems to me to represent a sacred stone, wrapped round with cloths. That such sacred stones were revered in Asia Minor we know; the image of Artemis of Ephesus was a stone "which fell down from heaven," and at Delphi a sacred stone was enveloped in wool on festivals. Another similar stone, with four holes in it, is associated with the determinative of "god" in H. V, 2, and may signify "goddess;" we meet with it again at Merash (line 4).

The sacred cake  appears to be represented by the character which forms part of the name of the deity who occupies the foremost place on the monuments of Carchemish. The second character is a

bird , which sometimes resembles an eagle, sometimes a duck (J. II, 3), but is really intended for a dove. As the dove is associated with the figure of a seated goddess found on Hittite monuments, I would identify the deity of Carchemish with her, and regard the dove, not as a phonetic character, but as an ideograph or determinative. In this case only the first character would phonetically express the goddess's name. The name of the city of Mabug, which succeeded Carchemish as a sacred city, joined with the fact that the name of a neighbouring town was Dabigu, makes it probable that *bug* or *big* was

and onion) of the Bull country, king of Milid (?), ruler of Komana." At Merash, "I am Sanda- * -u- * * -a-u(?)-s, the son of Us-khitti (?), the son of Mamanas(?), the king of the land of Khana (?)." I need not say that the reading and translation of several of the above words is merely conjectural.

In the case of the Bulgar Maden inscription, it may be noted that the group of characters which I have doubtfully translated "prince" occurs again in Bor I, 2, where, however, the sign *ku* or *ya* is inserted between *e*, the final letter of the word, and its ideographic determinative.

a separate word, and leads me to suggest that the goddess bore the same name as Ma of Komana.

Now in the inscriptions of Merash and Milid we find the name of a country which is common to both. At Milid this is expressed by the pictures of a seat, a sacred cake, and a lituus . At Merash a very complicated hieroglyph takes the place of the sacred cake. Milid, as we learn from the Assyrian texts, was in the territory of Komana, and therefore Merash, to the west of it, must have been the same. If the sacred cake represents the name of the goddess Ma, the seat would have the value of *ku* or *kam*, and the lituus of *na* or *ni*, the complicated central character being *man*. All this, however, is very uncertain, more especially as the suffixes attached to the name of the goddess (as I will call her) are *-s* and *-n*.*

XV. I am now going to launch into a series of conjectures, but where certainty is unattainable conjectures are permissible. At Carchemish the author of the inscription, besides the title of "king," assumes another which is denoted by the head and tiara of a high-priest, above which is the arch (J. III, 3).† In J. I, 5,   the two ideographs are followed by a character—a glove—which gives the phonetic value of the word or a part of it, after which comes a grammatical suffix . The glove in J. III, 5 follows another determinative, the head of a priest with the word (of prophecy?)  issuing from the mouth. At Ivris the two ideographs follow the name of the high-priest to whose figure the inscription containing them is attached.‡

* The name of the goddess is the first element in that of the grandfather of the Merash king. The "word-divider" (or simple line) is attached to it to indicate that it is separate from the second element in the name (? *manas*) which begins with the same character as that which expresses the name of the goddess. This second element is found as a separate word in Bor I, 2, where it is probably a title, since it is coupled with the ideograph of "great."

† A somewhat similar arrangement  which I have endeavoured to copy from the very indistinct photograph, occurs on the rock carving at Fraktin, above the figures.—W. H. R.

‡ In J. III, 5, a character resembling the glove is enclosed by two of these heads with another character which looks like the numeral 3 ; a very similar arrangement is found in the first line of the fragment in the Armenian

So far all is clear. But at Carchemish (J. III, 3), the place of the glove is taken by two characters, a  bulb(?)* which I will call x , and a ram's head (y). In the same inscription (line 4) after the ideograph of priest the glove is replaced by a quiver  † (z) ‡ and the ram's head, and then comes the name of the god Khatta. The glove therefore must be equivalent to $x + y$ and $z + y$.

Now almost the only Cappadocian word which has come down to us is *abaklēs*, the title given to the priest-king of Komana. I have long ago analysed *abaklēs* into *aba* "chief," and *kali* "priests." The Cappadocian priests of Ma or Kybelê, as is well known, were termed *galli*, and in this name I see a loan-word from the Assyrian *kalû*, "priest" or "mage." The discovery of the Cappadocian tablets and the letter of Sapalulve explains how technical Babylonian words came to be introduced into Cappadocia, and that *kali* was

Seminary at Merash. Again, on the lion  is found, the heads having assumed a form  in which they occur singly on the same inscription, and call to mind the character . The real picture of a head only occurs once on the lion. Another symbol of somewhat similar form  on H. II, 3, may perhaps be thus explained.  repeatedly occurs on the lion; I cannot think that it is to be identified with , as it never faces the reader. (They both appear on J. III.) Its position on J. I, 2, J. III, and the lion is worthy of note. If any corresponding character occurs on the Hamath stones, I think it must be the seat.—W. H. R.

* In order to name this character Prof. Sayce has called it a bulb(?). Several similar forms occur on these inscriptions, , ,  and , , the two last being clearly the heads of animals, perhaps a calf or cow, and I think certainly that of a hare or rabbit. Whenever one of the lobes at the end stands out, it seems most likely that it is to be taken as representing the ear or horn of the animal. These heads, for example the ass's , which is upright, appear to be figured as they are ordinarily seen on the animal to which they belong. The same rule seems to apply to the vegetables, which are uniformly represented in a vertical position, as if growing.—W. H. R.

† A portion of this quiver is well represented on J. VI.—W. H. R.

‡ Also written .

really a Hittite word is proved by the name of the king of Kūm-mukh, Kali-AN-Tesub, which could well mean "Minister of the god T'esub." Similarly the Cappadocian name Aba-skantos, met with in Greek inscriptions, certifies the existence of a word *aba*.

I therefore propose to read the title of the high-priest in the Carchemish inscriptions Aba-kali-s, *aba* corresponding to the two ideographs, the arch and the priestly head, which occur alone at Ivris, while *kali* corresponds to the characters which follow them in J. III, 3, and the simple priestly-head in J. III, 4. The exact nature of the initial guttural is doubtful; we have *galli* by the side of *kalû*, just as we have Ittagama by the side of Itakama, and Karkamish and Qarqamisha by the side of Gargamis. For the present, therefore, I propose to read both the bulb and the quiver *ka* or *ga* (though the bulb may be *ga'*), and the ram's head as *li*.

At Bulgar Maden, line 2, we have the name of the goddess of Carchemish, followed by the suffixes *u-u*, the arch or "prince," the ideograph of "place," the word or phonetic complement *un*, then a character compounded of the ideographs of "place" and "city," then the quiver, and finally the character which we have observed is attached to plurals. Is not this: "The goddess Ma (?) the regent of the city of Carchemish"? if so,  will be *ga* or *ka*, and  *mis*. The Arzawa tablets teach us that the Hittite plural sometimes ended in *-s*, and at Merash (line 4) the character which I propose to read *mis* takes the place of *me-es* in a word which seems to signify "this person" (see the beginning of the line and J. I, 1).*

A little further on in the Bulgar Maden text we have "city of the country," then a human head + *a*, then the determinative of "place," then a character which is doubtful, the **IC** of the published copy being uncertain, then *ga*, *mis*, and a suffix *a*, corresponding to the *a* which follows the head. Perhaps this signifies "chief of Gargamis." In the next line the arch is replaced by the ideograph of "king:" then comes the determinative of place and the word *un*; next is *kuê-mis-mis*, with the determinative of "place." On this I can throw no light.

The compound character which combines the ideographs of place and city is a favourite one in the Cilician inscriptions . In

* *Na(?) -ku* (or *ya -me-es*. The crook which on the Bagdad Bowl clearly means "this," is here placed over the human profile. In the Arzawa letters *nas* probably signifies "these."

Bor II, 3, it precedes the name of the Ivris High-priest *E-u-ka(?)e-(s)*, which is followed by the determinative of place," so that "the city of Eukaes" must be meant here. In B. M. 2, the name of the older prince is followed by the ideograph of "city," and in the first line of the inscription, the king Sanda-n- * *, the son of Sanda-e- * *, is called *E-u-ka-e-tar-s*, which must mean "of the family of Eukaes." For the suffix *tar*, compare the name of the city Khalipa-ntaris.

In Bor I, 2, the compound ideograph follows a picture of the human profile, with the nominative suffix, and is followed by the word for "city;" so I conclude that the phrase signifies "the inhabitant of the city." In Bor II, 2, the human profile precedes a modification of the compound ideograph, two determinatives of "city" being combined with the ideograph of "place" . This seems to indicate a particular town which was divided into two quarters. The same ideograph occurs in J. III, 3 , immediately after the ideograph of "king," where, in consequence of its position, I suggested in 1884 that it represents the town of Carchemish itself. Since then M. Menant has pointed out that the double ideograph of "city" is held in the hand of one of the deities at Boghaz Keui.

To return now to the bulb, to which I have assigned the value of *ka*. It is the second character in a word which M. Six first suggested is the name of Carchemish, but which is rather a man's name. That is proved by the position it occupies in J. I and II. The word is a compound, as the first character in it is the name of a god according to the Bagdad Bowl. As the third character is *me*, we are irresistibly reminded of the name of Etagama or Itakama. That 'Ati (or Êtu, as it is written in the Egyptian hieroglyphics) was a Hittite deity has been known for years, and on the Bowl the vase (*da*) is added to it as a phonetic complement. As we have seen, *d* and *t* interchange in Hittite names, and indeed in that of Etagama itself.

XVI. In J. III, 3 the ideograph of "country" is preceded by a word which is spelt with the character *e* and the picture of a bundle (?) , which I will call *x*. Prof. Jensen believes that it represents the word "king." In the fifth line of the inscription, however, it is followed by the determinative of action or power, the arm with a dagger, and its sense would therefore be rather "ruler," or something similar.* But that it was the equivalent of "king" is shown

* The word is also found on the Bagdad Bowl.

by the fact that in Bor I, 4 the ideograph of "king" is substituted for α . Unfortunately we do not know what the Hittite word for "king" actually was. In the Boghaz Keui fragments it seems to be *vanzi*. In Vannic it was *eri-las*, but the Lydian *palmys*, the Phrygian *balên*, and the Karian *gela* (which presuppose a common root *gwal*), indicate a different word in, at all events, western Asia Minor.* At Bor the word is followed by another, which consists of two boots walking backwards, the syllable *dan* (*tan*) and a suffix. The ideographs imply that the word signified "former," and in fact the word "king" or "ruler" is preceded by a proper name which begins with "Sandan."

XVII. With our present materials we cannot get much beyond the graphic decipherment of the Hittite texts. But this graphic decipherment is a necessary preliminary of their phonetic decipherment. The Hittite system of writing was mainly ideographic, and until these ideographs are classified and analysed, and the use of them explained, there is little good in attempting to decipher in the ordinary sense of the word. The arrangement of the characters is another matter which has to be carefully considered. Not only was the *boustrophedon* mode of writing adopted in the case of the lines of the texts, it was sometimes adopted also in the case of the columns of characters of which the lines are composed. The position of the determinatives and ideographs, again, in relation to the phonetic characters, was as little fixed as it is in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Egypt, though the rule was that in most instances the determinative should precede the word it determined if the latter were a substantive. Whether it were pronounced in such a case is a question. Usually, indeed, the name of a man's father, or of the country over which he ruled, assumed an adjectival form, as in Vannic or the Arzawa *SARR-us Khattannas*, and in that case it followed its subject, though, as in Greek and other inflected languages, there was no reason why it should not also precede it. As in Greek, too, the ethnic and patronymic adjectives could have the same suffix.

In the foregoing Notes I have assumed the correctness of my identification of the vowels *e* (or *i*) and *u*, made nearly twenty years ago. The characters representing them occur more frequently than any others in the inscriptions, and it is a well-known rule of decipher-

* Prof. Hommel (*Expository Times*, May, 1899, p. 368) adds the Lydian *koalddein* (or *koaladein*) and the Lycian *khbida*, and suggests that the Hittite word for "king" was *vialvis*.

ment that the most frequently recurring symbols must represent vowels. Moreover, both characters are sometimes inserted and sometimes omitted in the same word or group of signs. Whether the vocalic values I have assigned to them are correct is another matter, and, it must be understood, are merely provisional. M. Halévy has the credit of pointing out that the altar must also be a vowel; if *e* (*i*) and *u* are already provided for, it must represent *a*. But since it follows *me* (Merash I, 1, etc.) it may really be *e*.

That there are other characters expressing vowels is probable and we ought to find also a series of nasalised vowels (*an*, *in*, *un*). But until a bilingual inscription of some length is discovered, it is hopeless to endeavour to determine them.

In the foregoing Notes I have further retained the value of *ku* I assigned nearly twenty years ago to the standard planted on the

ground .* If I am right in making the trowel + *ku* the first person of a verb, the Arzawa letters would lead us to give it instead the value of *ya*, *iya* or *i*. But I confess I do not see how my old conclusion can be avoided. The boss of Tarkondêmos gives *tarku* as the value of the goat's head; in J. III, 3 and 4 the goat's head with the suffix    *u-e* interchanges with the flower and the standard  . In J. I, 2, 5 the standard planted in the ground, and followed by the nominative and accusative suffixes *s* and *n*, takes the place of the standard alone. That the latter ended in *s* is evident from H. I, 3 as compared with H. II, 3. There is, therefore, only one means of escape from the inference that  is *ku* and  *kus*, and that is to suppose that the goat's head had more than one phonetic value. But even so, it is made to interchange with *two* characters, and so presumably represented a word of two syllables. What makes the matter puzzling is that although classical mythology gives us Sandakos by the side of Sandan,

* I am pleased to see that Prof. Sayce has arrived at the conclusion that this sign represents a standard, as it is exactly my own opinion. It appears in two

forms , representing perhaps a standard borne, and  a standard planted.

That the lowest portion of the latter, is intended to represent a base, may be inferred from the base of the moon altar on Dr. Hayes Ward's cylinder, and other instances in which the same arrangement occurs on cylinders.—W. H. R.

neither in the Arzawa letters nor in the Boghaz Keui fragments can I find any trace of an adjectival suffix *-kus*, much less a verbal form in *-ku*. The word *khatri[k]ki* at the end of the second Arzawa letter is obviously a noun, and *zinnuk* in the first letter (line 25) is probably the same. In Arzawaya, from Arzawa, the gentilic suffix is *ya*; in Vantuvas it is *va* or *va*.*

XVIII. A fresh examination of my squeezes of the inscription on the figure of the pseudo-Sesostris in Karabel, aided by a fuller acquaintance with the Hittite characters, has enabled me to correct my published copy of the text. The following is my revised copy of it:  I should translate: "The builder of the sanctuary of the city of X . . ." (name of builder lost).†

XIX. In J. III, 5, we have a picture of the sun  preceded by the determinative of divinity and followed by the letter *n*. The word "ruler" or "king," which I have already discussed, precedes the group, and after it come the ideographs of "city" and "place." The whole phrase must signify "the ruler of the city of the Sun-god," and it would seem probable that the name of the Sun-god ended in *-n*. The probability is strengthened by the fragmentary inscription copied by Mr. Munro at Merash, where we have a compound proper name with the patronymic suffix formed of the following characters:

(1) the quiver, (2) the sheep's-head on a stand as‡ in H. V, 1 

* If the goat's head had another value besides *tarku*, it would be *s(i)*, the flower (*tar*) being *si*, and the standard *yas*. We could then adopt M. Six's suggestion, and see in the name of the Jerablus king a derivative from Carchemish, like Arzawaya from Arzawa, or Samalius from Samalla. In J. III, 2, we could read *Gar-ga-me-s-u-e*, and in the next line *Gar-ga-me-si-yas*, while the goat's head in Merash I would represent the *s* of the nominative, as it ought to do, since it is attached to adjectives in agreement with a noun in the nominative. But such a reading for the goat's head is absolutely excluded by H. IV, 1 and V, 3, compared with V, 2, where the character appears as the equivalent of the flower and the boot.

† On a Phrygian monument discovered by Prof. Ramsay in the valley of the Sangarios (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, III, 1, fig. 3 and pl. xxi) is the figure of the Asianic Hermès with a caduceus in his hand, accompanied by the two Hittite hieroglyphs of a bird and a triangle. The triangle elsewhere enters into the name of a Hittite deity (e.g., Iskharu, on the bilingual seal-cylinder). In Lydian Hermès was called Adramys, and the Karian Hermès is entitled Imbramos or Imbrakos. Perhaps the Karabel inscription means: ". . . the builder of the city of the temple of Hermès."

‡ Another instance of a head on a stand occurs in the Malatia Inscription, line 2.—W. H. R.

(3) the sun, (4) *n*, (5) *n*, (6) determinative of derivation, (7) *ku*, (8) *s*. Here the name of the Sun-god either terminates in *-nen* or *-nn(a)*, or is itself *nen*. It is noteworthy that the proper names found in Greek Cilician inscriptions give us as names of deities Neni, Nin and Nana, the two latter of which are doubtless borrowed from Assyria.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

(XVIII). Dr. Hayes Ward has lately published an important seal-cylinder which is in his possession, and on which are three lines of Hittite characters. The first two lines contain the names of the deities of Ivris and Jerablûs, and I should read the whole inscription as follows:—

- (1) *Determinative of deity, Sanda-da* (2) *Determinative of deity, X-Y*
 (3) *n, word-divider, E-ka (?)s.*

By *X-Y* I represent the name of the goddess of Carchemish, who appears here as the consort of Sandan, and consequently will correspond to the Rhea of the Greeks.

It is clear from the analogy of other seal-inscriptions that the text means "To the gods Sandan and Ekas," the last word being the name of the owner of the seal. It is also clear that the *n* which follows the second divine name must be the copulative conjunction, which is suffixed like the copulative conjunction in Mitannian, where it is also *-n* (e.g., *Gili-as Maness-an* "Gili-as and Manes"). With the name of the owner I should identify the name of the Cilician prince which I have read Eukaes(?) above; while the name on the seal is written E-ka(?)s, that of the prince is expressed more fully by E-u ka(?)e-s. It must be remembered that the values attached to the vocalic symbols are merely provisional, and that the second *o* (e) is doubtless the vowel of the syllable denoted by the preceding character. Among the Hittite names found on the Egyptian monuments is Aki-Tesub.



NOTES ON THE "HITTITE" INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

The following interesting series of notes are the contents of several letters which Dr. Hommel wrote to me some months ago, but which unfortunately could not be printed at once as the necessary type was not in the possession of the Society. This I hope he will accept as a satisfactory reason for the delay in printing his paper. It is now many years since the Society commenced to collect a fount of this type, and it has been a great pleasure to me to make the drawings now required, in order to publish properly the paper of so old and valued a correspondent.

In reply to my request Dr. Hayes Ward very kindly sent me excellent casts of his most interesting cylinder, which enabled me to produce the drawing (enlarged) in illustration of one of Dr. Hommel's notes. The emblem of the deity, with the snake-like wrathings round the standard, is without doubt a stag with a fine pair of antlers: and I would point out that this animal is unknown on the inscriptions. The question at once arises, was the stag an animal well known to the "Hittites" as belonging to the fauna of their country, or is it a borrowed emblem?

W. H. R.

A.

MUNICH, 9th April, 1899.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

A comparison of the Hamath Inscriptions I-III shows that in



must be found the name of the land + expression

for king. Jensen's "of this land king" is *impossible*; nowhere else in Oriental inscriptions does a king speak in this manner of his

kingdom, he always gives the *name* of his land. Now  (in later

inscriptions  is probably *i*,  probably *k* or *h* (comp. Ka-wi, , Jensen Tar-zi, inscription of Bor, for I read Jensen's *Š-a-n-š* rather *vi-a-l-vi*, comp. *πάλμυς*, Lydian "king," *βαλβίωας*, etc.), and in TA we never hear of Hamath, only of (*Inôga-s* = *Nuḥašši*, the land north-west of Martu-Amur. So I suppose in the inscription of Hamath *I-nu-g vi-r*^a "of Inoga(s) the king." A variant of it is   *I-nug* (comp. Pers. *نیاز*, Arm. *nokhaz*, *τράφος*?).

POSTSCRIPT (of 10th April, 1899).

The cylinder published by Mr. Ward gives the direct proof for  = "god" (not "land" as Mr. Jensen proposes). I suppose Tarku (comp. in the silver boss only the head of a goat or ram, here a serpent with the head of a stag; and the ideogram



 = dragon; perhaps also *ἐράκοντ*, an old loan-word from the Scythian language = Tarku) and his wife (?), the goddess with a dove (not eagle). What the third column means is not yet clear. Jensen would translate it "from Cilicia (and) from Arzapi ar-š (shepherd), the valiant, the king." But this (only a title) is impossible. We expect either a proper name (possessor of the seal) or the name of a god or both. I suppose that the third column is perhaps the name of the possessor; in this case: "(To) Tarku, (and to) his wife, N.N. (has dedicated)."



In other seals we have   (Schlumberger, 18), perhaps

   "servant () of the god "; or seal of Aidin   "servant of   (Išhara)*; or in a third

* Another seal in the Louvre has the characters alone. The last character also occurs round the Yuzgât seal alternately with roses.—W.H.R.  

seal,  , *Ib.* 2, 3, 4, "servant of the god Tarkhu" (a proper

name). Very often, we find  after the name of a god; if Jensen is right (= *te*), then we have to compare *Te-šub*, *Te-khip* (comp. *Shipak*, *Khipa*, *Δε-σάνκης*) and to read *Te* (the name of the god written at first, and then *te* "lord") so *e.g.*, *Ham. V* :

   *Te* + *A-m-n* (?) (perhaps the Egyptian *Amon*, comp. the Mitanni letter).

B.

MUNICH, 12th April, 1899.

For the title     (in *Ivriz I*, title of the god, in *Bor*, *Andaval*, etc., of the king) we have now three possibilities :

(1) The most improbable, *Syennesis* (Jensen), because *Syennesis* is a proper name and not a title.

(2) My former proposition *τι-α-λ-υι-ς* (comp. *Lydian* *πάλμυς*, "king," and *βαλβι* in *βαλβει-ατης*, *βαλβιοας*, etc.)

(3) A title of the Cappadocian *Heracles*, which came in my mind only some days ago, *Disandas* (comp. *Synkellos* and *Eusebius*).

We would have in the latter case :

(a)     
d - s - n - d - š

(b) In *Hamath V* lines 2 and 3 (name of a god of *Hamath*)*

    
D.P. S-m - (te)*

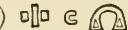
perhaps *אֲשִׁימָא*, 2 Kings, xvii, 30.

* Most of the names of gods begin with  and end with , the latter probably *te*, "lord" (comp. *te-šub*, *te-khip* with *Shipak* and *Khipa*).

† On the supposition that  has the value *m* (Jensen); comp. Cyprian  *mo*.

(c) *d - mi* "I," or "I am,"

comp. *du*, *zu* in almost all of the North Caucasian idioms; *mi* or *imi* would in this case be a verb ("to be," resp. "am").

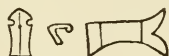
(d) *d - r - š* "king"*

comp. *êβεppas* in *Ταρκυνêβέppas* ("God Tarkon is king?") or *Τβερα-σήτας*; perhaps sibilated in Cappadocian *êσαρι*, "king" (on coins).

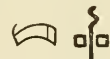
(e) Ham. II, 2,  and Ham. I, 3, II, 3, 
(great) *m - d* (great) *m - d*

probably the phonetic writing for , synon. , "great."

Now, if we combine the name of the land of the Hamath kings,

*I - nu - g*

(Inogas, Nuḥašši, the latter in T.A. always for the territory of Hamath, whilst Hamath itself is there nowhere mentioned) with the land of the king of the Bor inscription, we get:

(f) *g - d*

which must be the well-known land of *Kode* in Northern Syria and Eastern Asia Minor (*Kuti-ti* of T.A.).

Following Jensen's system we had to read rather (*a*)-*i p-tar* "of this land" (instead of Inuga) and Tar-*ś* Tarsus, instead of Kode). Now, it is impossible to imagine that a king should have written an inscription of the following tenor (comp. Jensen's translation):

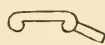
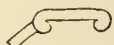
"I am the great, the mighty, the Hatian, of the goddess the man, of this land the king, I the, of the kings the man, the mighty, *X* (name of the king), the king, the mighty, the great, the king, the prince, the great, the mighty, the of the great god, the, the great, the, the king."

* On the supposition that  has the value *r* (Jensen), which is still only a possibility.

Such a mixed composition of tautologies, without mention of the name of the territory (no king at all would say in an inscription "of this land the king," instead "of *X* the king"), and with the name of the king only after eight insignificant titles, is the best proof of the impossibility of Jensen's "decipherment." How a Hittite inscription could have begun, we learn, *e.g.*, from the treaty between Ramses and Cheta-sir "this is the treaty which was proposed by the great king of the Cheta, Cheta-sir, the mighty, the son of Mora-sir," etc.).

In the *Proceedings*, XX, 263-266 (Nov. 1898) every reader has at hand a most instructive comparative table of the first three Hamath inscriptions, so I need only reproduce in the following the single groups. I think it accepted by all scholars that the first signs mean "I am"; between this word and the first occurrence of the well-known ideogram for king, we find three nominatives and another group without the sign of nominative.* Here we expect necessarily "the great, the mighty, *X* (name of the king), of *Y* (name of the land)," which is followed by the word "king." So we have (I give here the characters from left to right):

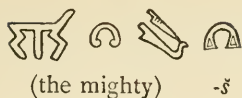
  
d - *mi* 
 I am 

 is an ideogram or determinative (perhaps "prince," Jensen "the Hatian");  is a sign which lays stress on a thing, and  means that the word is ended, whilst  would mean that a new word begins.

 
 
mi - *š*
 (the great)

comp. -*μῶας* in proper names of Asia Minor. This adjective or epithet is left out in Ham. IV, making it clear that it can be only a synonym of the following:

* It must be remembered that Prof. SAYCE discovered the ideogram for king and the sign for the nominative ( = *š*). These two discoveries must be always the starting-point for further inquiries; even Prof. Jensen had no other starting-point.



Here is  the same determinative as above; , perhaps ,  of the other inscriptions (later form ); I suppose *vi* or *bi* (otherwise suffix of the genitive).

In Ham. III we have  instead of , whilst Ham. IV

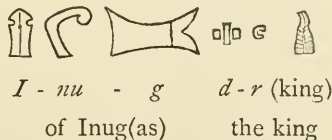
adds the determinative element  before the nominative ending .



Khirpa(?)-*r* - *u* - š

This group must be the *name of the king*. The hand is an ideogram (comp. the  above and under it), probably meaning "god," *khirpa*, comp. *Proceedings*, XIX, p. 79 ("Assyriological Notes," § 24). So I propose to read *Khirpa-ru'as* or *Khirpa-ruwas* (comp. *Tarkunda-rauš* or *Lykian 'Iēa-póη*?). The difference between  and  (and similarly between  and ) seems to me to lie in the semi-vocal character of *u* (and *i*); the one is probably *u* (or *i*), the other *v* (or *y*). Whilst in Ham. I-III the king is *Khirpa-ruwa*, the king of Ham. IV is   , *Khirpa-r-d-š*, i.e., *Khirpa-rudaš* (Assyr. *Garpa-runda*, *Girpa-ruda*).

The next group is :



Since *-as* in *Inogas* (Nukhašši, T.A.) is the nominative ending, this ending is here, in the genitive, left out.

If in Bor 1,      is *G* (or *K*)-*d-vi d-r-š*,

"of Kode (Jensen, Tars) the king," in Mar. L., 1,   

"of *X* (Jensen, Gurgum) the king,"* in Ordasu (Malatiya),   

"of *Mil-ind* (?) the king" (comp. seal of Indilimma,   *Lim + ind*, but pronounced Ind-lim, because *Lim*, as name of a god, is put

first ?), and in Jer. I, 1,     *Kark(-rk)-mi-vi dera-š*, "of

Karkamis the king," then we are obliged to see also in    the name of the land of the king. An interesting variant of *I-nu-g* is given in Ham. IV, viz.,   *I-nu-g* (the head of a ram above the ideogram for "servant" or "man"; comp. Persian *nehâz*, Armen. *nokhaz*, "he-goat"?).

By this analysis we see that the inscriptions of Hamath I-III are set up by the same king, Girpa-rua (?). Now if we read that this same king is called in Ham. I, 2 :

     
K - s (great) *d-r-š* (king)

but in Ham. II, 2 :

     
(Stork-land) *d - r* (great) *m-d* (king)

and in Ham. III, 2 :

     
Ideogr. or D.P. *š - r - s* *d - r* (great) (king)

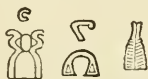
it is clear that *K-s* and the Stork-town or Stork-land and *Šh-r-s* must have been three different parts or towns of Inogas, probably one of

*  being the ideogram,  the phonetic complement.

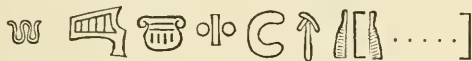
them being Hamath itself, or Kadesh (Kidshu, T.A.) on the Orontes, or other Hamathite towns or countries.

As the Babylonians could make *iššu*, “new,” out of *hidšu*, *חדש*, so it is probable that *Ḳidšu* became in the mouth of the people, or in vulgar language *Ḳiššu*, and it seems not strange that the king of Inogas bore also the title “king of Kissu,” *K-s d-r*.* The third name, *Sh-r-s* or *Sh-l-s* is perhaps the old Semitic name of Tripolis (*שלש*), to which may be compared the tripolis of Maḥallat, Maiz and Kaiz (vulgar form of Kadsī??) in the Assyrian inscriptions. Finally, if we would be allowed to see in the Armenian *aragel*, “stork,” an old Alarodian or Scythic word (comp. *πελαργος*, probably for an older *givelarg*, *garagl*), the stork-town would be *Ḥarankol* or *Ḥarakol*, so often mentioned at the side of Inogas in the Egyptian inscriptions; in this case Irkhulini (name of a king of Hamath, time of Salmaneser II) would be originally “the prince of the town Irkhul” (comp. the Vannic suffix *-ni*, e.g., in *Khaldi-ni*, “Chaldian,” “belonging to the god Khaldi”), a name like Prince of Wales, Prince of Naples, &c.†

In the end of Ham. I, I think I have found the name of the father of the king. Whilst Ham. II ends with a nominative, viz.,



r- (ideogr.) *-nu-š* (perhaps *irnu-s*?), probably a title or an adjective meaning “glorious,” the rest of Ham. I is broken off, and the expression corresponding to end of Ham. II has not the sign of nominative. So I suppose,



Tarkhu - x - s d - r - u (king)

contains a proper name + king (in the genitive) + a word for “son,” which latter is unfortunately broken off.

* I think it not impossible that *Ḳadesh* was the old name of Hamath, *חמת* (comp. Arabian *حامي* *himay*, “a consecrated territory, asylum”) only being another Semitic translation of *Ḳadesh* (“the holy.”)

* Even Reckendorf, *Zeitschrift für Assy.*, XI, 38, compared *aragil* and *Irkhulini*, but he thought erroneously  a name of a king (instead of a town).

The proofs for    = a proper name (probably Tarku-nasi) are the following :

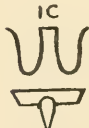
(a)  is the determinative prefix for god,   is the serpent or dragon-god Tarku (see my former communication), but as a composition element in proper names,  alone (without the D.P. ) is sufficient; comp. Leopold Messerschmidt, *Bemerkungen zu den hethitischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1898 (Mitth. der Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.), pp. 33 and 37.

(b) We find the same name, only with the variant  instead of , in the beginning of Marash L., after the expression *d-mi-i* "I am"; comp. Messerschmidt, p. 40, note 1. And, with another variant,  for , the same name occurs as the name of the king of   (head of a beast + fruit?) in the Ordasu inscription (Malatia):   . Even Mr. Messerschmidt, *loco citato*, p. 40, gives this identity with a "perhaps." In every case the honour to have discovered in the group    of Marash L. (line 1 twice, and line 2) the proper name of a king, belongs to Mr. Messerschmidt.

(c) In Bulg. Maden, line 1, we read :

I am       

(i.e. *Tarku-vi-u* priest-son = of the god Tarku priest-king?)

Tarku - d - r - š Khirpa - u - ú (?) - d - (son)*

with which may be compared Bor, line 2 :

* Or perhaps              , then *Khirpa* - r - u - ú (?) - d + son*.

(d)  I (1st sing.) Menant (resp.   "I am").

(e)  , var.  ,  , D.P. for "god" (Sayce), so indicating a number of names of gods, e.g.,   (probably Tarku),    (J. III, 5, etc.) (perhaps his wife),   , etc.

(f)  case-ending (Sayce);  vowel *i* (Halevy);  ,  vowel (Halevy).

a, *b*, *d*, *e*, forming at the same time the starting-point for every other successful attempt of further decipherment; they did so too, e.g., for the only partially right analysis of Prof. Jensen.

(g)  "queen" (Menant).

(h)  sign for the beginning of a new group, and  indicating an ideogram (Peiser).

(i)        () title of the god of Ivriz (Sanda?), and of the kings residing in Bor, Bulgarmaden, Andaval; (*four letters of which the fourth is the same as the first*)—Jensen.

(k)   () phonetic spelling of the word "king" (Jensen).

(l)  ideogram for "great" (phonetic  , *mi*) (Jensen); perhaps a synonym of it  , phonetic   (Jensen).

(m)    (J. II, 1),   (Ordasu),   (Bor. I, 1),

 () (Lion),      (J. II, 2), *local names*, the latter probably Karkmi (Karchemish) (Jensen); of these the first is undoubtedly the name of the territory in which lays Hamath (resp. the second Malatiya, the third Bor, the fourth Marash and Bulgarmaden, the fifth Jerabis).

(n)    (Mar. L.) =    (Ordasu)

and perhaps =    (Ham. I, end), a proper name of a king, composed with the name of the god   (Messerschmidt).

(o) Many other proper names, composed with  and also with  (= "god,"* probably *Khirpa*), see above (Hommel).

(p)  a det. suff. after names of gods (probably *te* "lord," Jensen), e.g.,   ,     ,  etc. (Hommel).

(q)  ,  and  , names of towns in the territory of Hamath (Hommel).

(r)  ideogram for "son" (Hommel).

B.—Results highly probable.

(a)     = *D-s-n-d-š* = Desandas; in connection with this are the following (*b*, *d*, etc.).

(b)   = *x-d* = *Kode*, and in connection with this latter,

(c)    = *I-y-x* = *I-y-k* = *I-nu-g*, i.e. Inogas.

(d)   = *K-s* (Kissu = Kidsu, Kadesh) or perhaps

Kd-s; in this latter case the divine name    would be not *Tarku* but *Tarka(n)d*, comp. Tarhunda, Τροκόνδης, and the divine name    probably the same ( perhaps *kark* and *tark*, or comp. the god *Kakka* for *Karkad* in the contract-tablet of Khana?). For    *Sh-r-s* or *Sh-l-s* (see above) comp. perhaps *Sa-ri-su*, name of a Hethite town in the time of Ramses (probably to be read Sa-li-su = Tripolis).

* Jensen: "perhaps ideogram for a (certain) deity"; the different variants he thought ideograms for different deities. But he did not see that  is almost always only part of a proper name, and that it must be only a general expression for "god" (because  is wanting before it) and not of a single deity.

(e)    *Tarku-x-s* = *Tarku-nasi*; Jer. III, 5,     = *S-te* (Jensen) *-s-d*, Σατι-σούδης (comp. *Mai-σάδης*, *Mai-πάρνος*, Σατι-φέρνης, Σαδα-σάμης, *Sadi-Teshup*, Σαδν-άττης, Τβηρα-σητας, Ταρκυνδβέρπας, etc., *Sati* being the name of a god, comp. *Sutekh*, and *sada* an epithet); Jer. I, 1 probably  []    *Sa-te-r* (Jensen, but only by insufficient reasons) *-d-š* = *Sati-rudas*; and so in other proper names   = *ruda*,    either *-r-ú-d* or perhaps *-r-un-d*, etc. (see above).

(f) *d-mi*, *ú-d-mi* (or *un-d-mi*?) “I am”; comp. in the Lesghian group of languages *dun*, *düdil* (for *dudun*), *zun*, *uzu* “I” (see above)

(g) *d-r* “king” (see above, and comp. the pr. n. *Tarku-d-r-š* = *Tarhund-darauš*?, like Lyc. Πιξέδαρος, *Pichä-dara*, or Cilic. Ουάδαρος; perhaps only a dialect variant is *Tarkhu-lara*).

Direct proofs for the correctness of these “highly probable” results (B) can only be found in new inscriptions or in a new bilingual. If I am right, the inscriptions of Hamath, at least, must be much older than Prof. Jensen asserts; Inogas and Kadesh belong to the end of the second millennium B.C., not to the Assyrian time, where the names Nuḥašši (Inogas) and Kadesh (probably Hamath itself) disappeared. To the same result would bring us Kode (T.A. Kutī-ti, Northern Syria and Cilicia.)

A comparison of my translation of the first (and second) Hamath inscription and that of Prof. Jensen will give the best proof for the probability of the one and the impossibility of the other.

MY TRANSLATION.

d + *mi* (= I am) + ideogr. for “great” + *mi-š* (*mi* probably = great), ideogr. for “mighty” *-vi* (?) *-š*.

i.e. *I am the great, the mighty**

JENSEN'S TRANSLATION.

š-mi, mark of honour or dignity (beginner of a word) *mšī(d)* *mi* (—mark of nominative)? *Hatia*?? (—mark of nominative)

i.e. *I am the?, the great, the mighty*?, a x of *Hati*

* I have not transcribed some signs, which are probably only pleonastic determ.-signs, and have therefore omitted them in the translation (e.g., , which Jensen thinks = *Hatio*).

MY TRANSLATION.

Khirpa-r-v-š (name of the king)
I-nu-g d-r

i.e. *Khirpa-ruas*, of *Inogas* the king,

D.P.(?) *d*, man, mighty, 
-m(?)*-v*,

D.P.(?), king (three times) +
m(?) *r* +  (syn. of great)
-v (= *arva*?)

i.e. *I the mighty, the priest* (?), of
the kings (?) *the high one* (?),

Kad (or *K-*) *-s* great *d-r-š* king
 (with modification of the sense
 by ) great *-š*, lord or
 chief (?) *v-i-u-i* great *m-d*

i.e. of *Kadesh* the great king, the
 great lord

Tarku-na (?) *-s d-r-u* king [son]
 i.e. of *Tarku-nasi*, the king [his
 son]

JENSEN'S TRANSLATION.

goddess *x, r* (+ mark of nomi-
 native)

á-í w (or *p*)-? *š-r dsario*

i.e. of the goddess *x* the man, of
 this land the king, the king

dividing-mark, *š* + "man," ? ? ?
m-á,

dividing-mark, *dsario-m, r imia-a*

i.e. *I, the* ? ? ? ? , of the kings the
 man, the mighty

K-' (= name of the king), *mši*
š-r (+ mark of nominative)
dsario x dsario mši-i (+ mark
 of nominative)

? *-a i-a-i msia-?-m-š*

i.e. *K.*, the king, the mighty, the
 great, the king, the ?, the king,
 the great, the mighty.

Khilik-ki-a š-r-a dsario

i.e. a Cilician king, the king.

If "the kings" is plural, then  (*m* or *b*?) seems to be the plural ending; comp. *-b* in the South Caucasian languages and in the Persian, in North Caucasian also sometimes *-m*. Therefore I see no necessity to see in this ending an Indogermanic (Aryan) ending of the gen. plur.

In my opinion the language of these inscriptions has the nearest affinity with the Vannic language (comp. above all the nom. sing. *-š* and the gen. sing. *-i* or *vi*), but the kings and probably, too, the inventors of the Hittite script, were Eranian chiefs (so called Scythians, comp. my pamphlet "Hethiter und Skythen," Prag., 1898) from Cappadocia.

Now, whilst some of the titles and some letters and ideograms can be read, it is to be hoped that these results will be the beginning

for a real, till now not yet attained, decipherment of these interesting documents. Perhaps our Desandas will become the key for it.

POSTSCRIPT (of 29th April, 1899).

In a prehistoric tomb at Kedabeg, N. of Goektchai-lake, Mr. Belck found a truncheon (or baton) of command, with the following signs on the top:   , comp. *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropol. Gesellsch.*, 1893, p. 63. Now it seems to me certain that we here have a Hittite proper name    Tarku-dara-š (=god Tarku is king). Nobody has hitherto seen that these signs are Hittite, but there can be no doubt of the fact. Comp. seal, Schlumberger 6  and 17 .

[I have read Professor Hommel's paper after the final revise of my own was sent to the press, and am delighted to find that in several cases we have independently reached the same conclusion. There is therefore a fair probability that in all such cases the conclusion is correct. Professor Hommel's suggestion that the sleeved hand means "servant" is very plausible, and may be supported by J. II, 2 (where I have supposed its signification to be: "To whom the goddess of Carchemish has given the Hittite," but which may be: "the servant of the goddess of Carchemish, the giver of the Hittite"). The Hittite inscription discovered by Professor Hommel on the baton from Kedabeg is highly interesting; there is another Hittite inscription on a bronze vase from Toprak Kaleh, near Van, and now at Berlin. As for the serpent on Mr. Hayes Ward's seal, it must be remembered that it was sacred to the god Sabazios, or rather Saboi, who is sometimes represented with horns.—A. H. S.]





ĀPUAT.



APUAT.



ĀNUPT.



ĀNUPT.

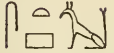
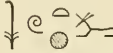


ĀPUAT.



SET.

NOTES ON SOME EGYPTIAN DEITIES.

SET , or Sutekh , eighth member of the company of the gods of Annu, son of Seb and Nut (the earth and sky), and husband of his sister Nephthys (sunset).

The worship is very ancient and is mentioned in the Pyramid texts certainly as early as the Vth dynasty.

After the XXIIInd dynasty he was regarded as an evil god, having previously been considered a beneficent one. In the XIXth dynasty we see two kings were styled beloved of Set. He typified "Darkness," and was daily at war with his brother Osiris, the sun of yesterday, whom he overcame and slew; Osiris was avenged by his son Horus (the rising sun).

At Ombos he was worshipped under the name of *Nubti*.

Figures of this god are very scarce, owing in later times to his being looked upon as an evil demon and murderer of Osiris. It is presumed in consequence of this reaction of feeling against him, that all his statuettes and monuments were destroyed and his name erased from them.

He was represented as a man, with the head of a strange beast not yet made out, with large upright square topped ears, also as an animal sitting up with his tail raised vertically.

In the British Museum there are two bronze specimens, No. 18,191 and No. 22,897.

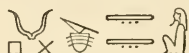
Set may be often seen depicted upon scarabs.

Figure of Set, in the attitude of walking, left leg advanced, wearing the long head covering falling on his shoulders, with the pschent on his head, arms pendent, wearing a tunic; loop behind the head.

H. $2\frac{5}{16}$ in. Bronze. No. 4173.

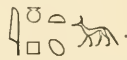
ÂPUAT . There is very little known of this god beyond what has been written upon it by the late Sir P. le Page Renouf.*

He says the name signifies the "opener of the roads" of the northern and southern skies.

This is a title of the sun, who in his daily course from east to west also opens or divides the earth into two, the north and south, and is accordingly called , âp-tau. There is a specimen in my collection, jackal-headed, wearing the large head covering, with tunic round his loins, seated upon a throne. His left arm rests upon his knee, the right arm is bent at the elbow, and in his right hand he holds the flail. The throne is ornamented with figures, and on the base is a hawk; round the base of the pedestal is a dedication by Peâ-Her-se. H. 5 inches. In bronze.

Another figure of Âpuat, a form of Osiris, represented jackal-headed, kneeling upon a pedestal; in his left hand he holds the crook, and in his right the flail or whip after the manner of figures of Osiris. Upon the back is the head of the hawk wearing the disk and uræus, with its tail feathers in front of it. It is furnished with a ring for suspension. H. 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Bronze.

Another figure is represented kneeling upon his left knee, jackal-headed, holding the sceptre and flail, with a loop for suspension. H. 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Bronze.

ÂNUPT . This goddess, a form of Hathor, symbolizing probably the dawn or evening twilight, is a feminine form of the god Ânu or Anubis. It has been found at Denderah, where probably at one time it was worshipped. Figures of this deity are very rare.

A figure in my collection similar to that figured by Lanzone,† of wood, H. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, represents the goddess standing upon a pedestal with the head of a jackal, wearing a long head-dress and a garment descending to her ankles, leaning against a plinth, holding in front a large *teṭ* with both hands. It has also been found in the form of a jackal, holding knives in its hands.‡

* *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XIII, p. 157.

† *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 74.

‡ *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 31.

Another figure represents the goddess seated upon a throne, with the head of a jackal, wearing the atef crown and a long head attire. holding a bow, upon the back are the wings and tail of a hawk, H. $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. Lanzone * figures a similar specimen from the Turin Museum in faïence, holding a shell, but I consider that is only a clumsy representation of the bow.

* *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 31.

F. G. H. P.



THE BLESSINGS ON ASHER, NAPHTALI, AND JOSEPH.

Two things seem to be specially necessary at the present moment for the study of the Old Testament ; one is the zealous prosecution of Biblical archæology, and the other the correction of the Massoretic text. In open-eyed recognition of this few can claim to equal Mr. Ball, who has no doubt given his chief attention to archæology, but has also made one valuable contribution on a large scale to the correction of the text. He knows me too well to think that I undervalue his labours on Genesis, or that my abstention from critical remarks on his own treatment of Genesis xlix in the present Note means that I write in an arrogant spirit. Not until my promised commentary on Genesis is in the press will my conclusions be even in a modified sense final. To save space and time, I limit myself to giving the corrected text, with translation, of Gen. xlix, 20-26, and a few notes, suggesting the principles on which I have acted.

- אֲשֶׁר שְׂמִנָּה אֲדָמָתוֹ 20 Asher—fertile is his land ;
 וְהוּא יִתֵּן מִחֲמָדִים : Precious things are those which
 he produces.
 נַפְתָּלִי עֲדִינָה גִבְלָתוֹ 21 Naphtali—luxurious is his pos-
 session ;
 הוּא יִתֵּן עֲרֻמֹּת : He produces heaps of fruits.
 אֶפְרַיִם תְּקֵאָרֶת לְיוֹסֵף 22 Ephraim is an ornament for
 Joseph,
 מְנַשֶּׁה צַעֲדָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל : Manasseh a bracelet for Israel.
 וַיִּמְרְרוּהוּ וַיִּרְבְּהוּ 23 Though they irritated him and
 strove with him,
 וַיִּשְׁטָמְהוּ בְּעֵלֵי חֲצִים : Though the archers persecuted
 him,
 וַיִּשְׁבֹּר מִיתָר קִשְׁתָּם 24 Yet he broke the strings of their
 bows,
 וַיִּרְפוּ אֲצִילֵי יָדֵיהֶם : And the joints of their hands
 became loose.

- אל אביה יעזרה 25 The God of thy father help thee,
 ואל שדי יברכה God the Sovereign bless thee—
 ברכת משמים מעל With blessings from heaven
 ומתהום רבצת תחת above,
 ברכות הררי עד 26 With blessings of the eternal
 תבואת גבעות עולם mountains,
 ברכת חסדו ורחמיו The products of the everlasting
 ברכת אביה יעקב: hills,
 תהיון לראש יוסף With blessings of his loving
 ולקדקד נזיר אחיו: kindness and compassion,
 With the blessings of thy father
 Jacob:
 Let these be on the head of
 Joseph
 On the crown of the head of the
 prince among his brethren.

20. **אֲדַמְתּוּ**. So Tg. Onk.; Pesh.; Grätz. MT. **לְחִמּוֹ**.—**מִחֲמַדִּים**. MT.'s **מַעֲדֵנִי** is corrupted from **מַחֲדָּם**; **מֶלֶךְ** from **מֶלֶךְ** (a dittogram or duplication). The alternative is to read **מֶלֶךְ** (a dittogram or duplication). The alternative is to read **מֶלֶךְ**; but this is tautological. **מַחֲדָּם** is better than **מַעֲדֵנִי**, for it will include the mineral riches of Asher (Dt. xxxiii, 24). 21. **עֲדִינָה נַחֲלָתוֹ**. No one has yet found a satisfactory explanation MT.'s of **אֵילָה שְׁלַחָה נ**. **אֵילָה שְׁלַחָה** fell out of **אֵילָה שְׁלַחָה**, and **ע** became **ל**. **נ** in **נַחֲלָתוֹ** became **ש**; **ת** became **ה**. The blessing of Naphtali had to resemble that of Asher; both tribes were distinguished by the natural riches of their territories. But the products of the land of Naphtali were less varied than those of the land of Asher; indeed, it was the land of Gennesaret which alone could excite a poet's enthusiasm. The "heaps of fruits" of this fertile tract deserved an encomium (see Jos. B.J., iii, 108). For **עֲרֻמָּת** cf. 2 Chr. xxxi, 6-9. 22. Corrupt dittograms have much disfigured this verse. **שֹׁפָר** (v. 21, end) comes from **אֶפְרַיִם** (**א** and **ש** are liable to be confounded); **בֵּן** comes from **רִים**, the second part of **אֶפְרַיִם**.

פרת is a shrivelled up form of תפארת; cf. ברית, Isa. xlii, 6, xlix, 8, which probably comes out of תפארת. Wellhausen's theory (*Comp. des Hex.*, 322) is ingenious, but, I think, he trusts the text too much. The second בן פרת is dittographed, and to be omitted. ליוסף comes from ליוסף (so read; cf. next line); the initial ע is dittographed; ס and ע, ה and נ are confounded. בנות is a bad corruption of מנשה (מ and ב, ת and ש confounded). לישראל comes out of לישראל; when the letters had been misarranged (a common source of misreadings) the editor tried to make some kind of sense; "upon the wall" is the strange result. 23. Ephraim and Manasseh are viewed as divisions of one tribe. וירבהו (Sam., LXX, Ball, Holzinger). 24. Dillmann, who has but little insight into textual problems, strangely remarks, "LXX has everything against it." The proposed correction, which is approached by Ball, seems to me virtually certain. The next line I am not so sure about; when the letters had been misarranged, MT.'s reading may quite possibly have come out; but the corruption may in this case lie deeper. 25. Much ingenuity has been spent on the closing part of v. 24 (see Ball's note), but I am afraid that it has been thrown away. מידי אביר יעקב is certainly a corruption of שדי יברכך (v. 25); it is corrupt dittography. משם comes from משדי. אבן has arisen out of אבדן. רעה and ישראל both came from יעורך. Dittograms are often useful in suggesting corrections. This is the case here. יעקב is wrong in v. 24 (25), but deserves to be read for גברו in v. 26 (see below). Farewell, then, to speculative arguments as to stone-worship, as suggested by the phrase (the *corrupt* phrase) "the stone of Israel." 25. אל for אל, and אל for את, need no argument. The ו before the two verbs may also be securely omitted as editorial insertions, as a consequence of corruptions. שדי for שדי will also be self-evident to archæologists. מְתָהוּם is required by metre (cf. Dt. xxxiii, 13); this involves reading משמים. MT.'s ברכת שדים is of course wrong. We must not venture on harmonising it with Dt. xxxiii, 13-15, for this passage (viz. from מברכת to ארץ ומלאה) is an interpolation based on a corrupt form of Gen. xlix, 25, 26. One word only may and should be adopted, viz., תְּבִיאָת (Dt. xxxiii, 14), though in Dt. l. c. it stands in the wrong place. It

should almost certainly take the place of MT.'s תַּאוֹת in Gen. xlix, 26. In place of "blessings of the breasts and of the womb: the blessings of thy father have prevailed," we should, I think, read something much more appropriate, which can quite well be detected underneath the received text; only it clearly ought to stand after the reference to the mountains and hills which winds up the list of material sources of blessing. עַל-בִּרְכַּת הַרִי עַד תַּאוֹת is by common admission incorrect. עַל, as we shall see, is an editorial patch, designed to make sense with the impossible גִּבּוֹר הַרִי, "my progenitors," should be הַרִי "mountains (of);" LXX, ὀρέων (ὄρων); so recent critics since Tuch. Of תַּאוֹת I have spoken already; the "products" of the hills—the glorious "trees of Yahwè"—are in fact the "blessings of the mountains." Then follows the conclusion—quite in the style of the later poets (vv. 25, 26, seem to be a later insertion). חֶסֶד (חֶסֶד) should be חֶסֶדִּי (is *very often* misread); רַחֵם had probably once a mark of abbreviation, to indicate that it was to be read רַחֲמָיו. "Loving kindness and compassion," as Jer. xvi, 5; Hos. ii, 21; Zech. vii, 9; Ps. ciii, 4. גִּבּוֹר, "have prevailed," should probably be יַעֲקֹב. The only difficulty is about the ר; ג and ק can easily be confounded. But in a passage so badly misarranged as this, we must allow the editor a little scope to manipulate the text in the interests of sense.

T. K. CHEYNE.



NOTE ON THE HEBREW WORDS **סגור** AND **אשכר**.

There has been much discussion on the meaning of these words. Of the former no proper explanation exists. The latter, however, I think I am right in identifying with Ass. *sakru* in the phrase *hurâsu sak-ru*, "massive, or solid, gold," Delitzsch, *Ass. H. W. B.*, 499 b. The phrase **זהב סגור** occurs several times, *e.g.*, 1 K. vi, 20 f.; vii, 49 f; **סגור**, alone, in Job xxviii, 15. As to **אשכר**, it is clearly corrupt in Ezek. xxvii, 15 (read perhaps **סְחָרִיף**). In Ps. lxxii, 10, it is generally rendered "tribute." This suits the context, but is, I believe, not quite right. **אשכר** here should be either **סכר** or **סגר**, "solid gold." The initial א is dittographed. Happily the correctness of this hypothesis can be proved. In Ps. lxxii, 15, we meet with these words, which painfully interrupt the context, and are, by Bickell and Bâthgen rightly pronounced to be a gloss, **וַיְחִי וַיִּתֶּן-לוֹ מִזֶּהָב שָׁבָא**. (The gloss however begins at **וַיִּתֶּן**; **וַיְחִי** is dittographed, see v. 16.) But why should a gloss on v. 10 b be supposed to be wanted? This is the reason—because the rare word **סכר** or **סגר** needed explanation. The glossator considerably interpreted this to mean **זהב**, "gold."

T. K. CHEYNE.



W. E. C. NOTES ON:—

I.—THE NAME PACHOMIUS.

II.—“ABOVE” AND “BELOW” IN COPTIC.

III.—EGYPTIAN “ORANTES.”

The name borne by the father of Egyptian coenobites appears in Greek texts under the forms Παχούμιος (‘Vita’ in *Acta SS.*) or Παχώμιος (Palladius) with less frequent variants in papyri and inscriptions. Corresponding feminine forms are Τάχουμις, Ταχώμ. Coptic MSS. and inscriptions have Saʿid. **ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲙⲉ**, Boh. **ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲙⲉ**,* while Brugsch cites as the common original a Demotic name consisting of the identical consonants.†

There is however a secondary form, not uncommon in Saʿidic texts and differing from those above mentioned by the addition of a third syllable. It appears as **ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲙⲉⲟ**, **ⲡⲁⲅⲟⲙⲉⲟ**, **ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲙⲉⲱ** or **ⲡⲁⲅⲟⲙⲉⲱ**.‡ So far as I know this form has not been accounted for, though the explanation I here offer has probably suggested itself to others. The usual two-syllable form of the name being of a normal Egyptian type, the added third syllable may be assumed to represent a distinct word, “annexed” to one already complete. Thus disintegrated, the name calls to mind the small group of words compounded with the adjective **ⲟⲩⲁⲓ**, **ⲟ** ‘great’§—in its independent use superseded long since by **ⲡⲟⲩ**,

* No distinctive Mid. Egypt. form is, I think, extant.

† *Wb.* 216, *A. Z.*, 1888, 67.

‡ The first of these occurs once in the subscription of a Boh. scribe (Zoega, 175). **ⲡⲁⲅⲟⲙⲉⲱ** (Rainer *Corpus* I) and **ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲙⲉⲱ** (Brit. Mus., no. 299), though the termination is Mid. Egypt., occur in texts otherwise Saʿidic.

§ Stern, *Gram.*, § 194, Steindorff, *Gram.*, § 148, Maspero, *Rec. de Trav.*, XX, 150 ff. Stern’s **ⲱⲁⲓⲟ** is confirmed by an ostrakon from Deir el-Bahari (letter from bishop to clergy) . . . **ⲭⲉⲣⲡⲱⲁ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲅⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲅⲉⲡⲱⲁⲱ ⲡⲟⲩ ⲡⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲅⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲅⲉⲡⲱⲁⲱⲛⲉⲉ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟⲧⲉⲙⲉⲧ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲟ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲕⲗⲛⲣ[ⲟⲥ].**

—a group which might probably be enlarged from among the numerous Græco-Egyptian proper names now available.* That the name ΠΑΖΟΛΛΟ is of this formation was first suggested to me by the following passage (Brit. Mus., fragt. no. 299) . . . ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΕΤΕΠΑΤΕΛΟΝ ΠΕ . . . ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΛΛΑ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΝΤΕΛΠΤΕΛΟΝ ΑΧΟΣ ΕΔΨΥΙΘΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΝΤΕΨΘΟΛΛ ΤΗΡC ΨΑΝΤΕΨΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΠΟΘ ΕΛΛΑΤΕ, "Athanasius, that is The Deathless . . . Apa Pahoma, the father of the monastic *κοινωνία*, who changed thus his whole power and so became a very great man." As an interpretation is here given of the first name, it seems probable that what follows the second should likewise refer to its etymology. Some memorial stelæ further support the above explanation. Gizeh, no. 8382 has a list of eight names of which the last two are ΑΠΑ ΙCΑΔΚΩ and ΑΠΑ ΙΩΧΗΦΩ; while *ib.*, no. 8411 commemorates ΑΠΑ ΙΟΥΛΙΩ.†

The appellation ὁ Μέγας (without the name) by which Pachomius is so frequently designated in the 'Paralipomena'‡ and less often in the 'Vita,' is presumably not more distinctive than ΠΙΠΨΥ† as applied to Paulus Eremita, Macarius etc., *e.g.* *Mus. Guim.* XXV, 323. He is himself ΠΙΠΨΥ† ΠΑΨΩΛΛ, *ib.*, 403.§

Side by side with the names in -Ο stand a larger number compounded with   ΨΗΛΛ, 'small,' and among them Παχόμχημης,|| an exact counterpart of ΠΑΖΟΛΛΟ.

* Can ΠΑΕΙΤΩ *A.Z.*, 1868, 66, be compared with   Lieblein, 1542? Cf. the genitive Ἀῦτος, cited by Brugsch, *A.Z.*, 1884, 14

† ΙΟΥΛΙ is the usual form of Julius; *v. e.g.*, Rainer *Corpus* I, index.

‡ M. Ladeuze, *Muséon* 1898, 391, shews that this is an adaptation from a Coptic text.

§ I have seen but one similar case in the Arabic texts, *Mus. Guim.* XVII, 669, أبينا الكبير باخوميدوس. If the epithet 'great' refers merely to seniority in age or rank, it may have served to distinguish the head of the monastery from his namesake and disciple, Παχόμχιος ἄλλος ('Vita,' § 50), or subsequently from another P., 'the anchorite,' commemorated on the 12th Paopi (Leyden Cat., 214). Cf. Ἀυσόριος ὁ μέγας κα Ἀυσόριος ('Vita,' § 60).

|| Cf. COΠΨΗΛΛ and COΠΧΗΛΛ (Brit. Mus., Or. 1060). One name of this class, Taloshem, has been attributed to Pachomius' sister, apparently on the authority of Bsciai (*v. Nilles*, *Z. k. Th.*, 1882 373). But her name was in fact Maria (*Mus. Guimet*, XVII, 36) and the one occurrence I know of the other name is in reference to a different saint (*Miss. franç.* I, 399, the Pachomius

One is tempted to add to the short list of forms in  a word which since Zoega's time has lacked explanation. Of the word **Ⲭⲁⲭⲟ** I know four published instances: (1) Zoega, 531 = *Miss. franç.* IV, 696, where Apa Moses, writing to some nuns, says "God hath made you worthy of this great and holy calling, **ⲣⲉⲬⲁⲭⲟ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲡⲓⲧⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲁϩ** behave wisely (? or learn wisdom) and do Him honour"; (2) Lepsius, *Denkm.* VI, 103, an inscription commemorating Paul **ⲡⲉⲬⲁⲭⲟⲩⲛⲉⲉ**; (3) von Lemm, *Sahid. Bibelfr.* I, (end) where **ⲩⲁⲭⲱ** appears to be a title followed by a proper name; (4) Rainer *Mitthgn.* V, 52, **ⲡⲕⲁⲡⲉⲬⲁⲭⲁ** (Mid. Eg.), which is likewise a man's title.* Besides these a Jêmé papyrus (Brit. Mus., Or. 4883) mentions a woman **ⲧⲉⲬⲁⲭⲟ ⲧⲩⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲃⲗⲗⲉ**, while an ostrakon from Deir el-Bahari is written jointly by John *πρεσβύτερος* of the village of **ⲡⲱⲱⲉ**, David **ⲡⲉⲬⲁⲭⲱ** and Simeon *ἀναγνώστης* of the same village. Dr. von Lemm has already connected the word with **Ⲙⲉⲁⲓ**, **Ⲙⲉ** and its use as a title, especially as in the last example quoted, makes it probable that we have here the ecclesiastical **Ⲙⲉ** *ἐιδάσκαλος* † with an added , O as before.

II.—"ABOVE" AND "BELOW" IN COPTIC.

These expressions usually translate in Sa'idic the words **ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ** and **ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ** respectively, or other forms derived from the same roots; such words being either adverbial or prepositional. There is however another pair of words one of which, compounded of **ⲡⲉ**

in Nilles, *Kalend.*² II, 712 being there and in Brit. Mus. no. 144, Moses). B.'s etymology too is quite unlikely; "the little maid" is far more probable. Cf. *Ταλοῦς*, *Παλοῦς*, **ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ** (*A.Z.*, 1878, 12).

* I. my *Coptic MSS. from the Fayyûm*, 32, and add to the list there *Mus. Guimet*, XXV, 292, the locality **ⲧⲓⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲡⲡⲉⲭⲓ**.

† As in the Leyden Catalogue 150, 153. For this *ἐιδάσκαλος*, v. Du Cange, s.v. In the 'Scala Magna' (Paris 44, p. 62) the two words stand side by side among the church functionaries. In Georgi, *Fragm.* 358, the bishop is called **ⲡⲉⲡⲉⲬⲁⲭ**; but there its use need be no more technical than when applied to Christ, e.g., Mat. viii, 19; ix, 11.

"heaven," is a recognised equivalent to *άνω*.* The parallel term is to be found, so far as I can ascertain, only in the legal documents from Jémé (Thebes). It has two employments; (1) in reference to the notary or witnesses whom the author engages to draw up or sign the deed, *e.g.* :—

Aeg. Z., 1888, 129 (= Erit. Mus., pap. cii), *ⲙⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ*
. . . *ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲅⲩⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲫⲏ* *ⲅⲁⲣⲟⲓ* *ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛ* *ⲕⲁⲧⲁ*
ⲧⲁⲏⲧⲓⲥⲓⲥ.

Aeg. Z., 1891, 18 *ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲅⲩⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲫⲉ* *ⲅⲁⲣⲟϥ* *ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛ*.

The same word in the same context appears in Pap. Turin I (*Atti* 23, 341), Brit. Mus., Or. 4879 and 4882.

With these quotations compare—

Revillout, *Actes* 3, *ⲅⲓⲧⲛⲧⲃⲓⲭ* *ⲛⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲥⲟ/*
ⲅⲁⲣⲁⲧⲥ *ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ*.

Brit. Mus., pap. xc, *ⲁⲡⲟⲛ* . . . *ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲅⲩⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲫⲏ*
ⲅⲁⲡⲓⲥⲏⲧ *ⲛⲡⲓⲱⲣⲉⲁⲥⲧⲓⲕⲱⲛ*.

Revillout, *l.l.* 47, *ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲙⲉⲡⲧⲣⲉ* . . . *ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲱⲥ*.

Clearly the word *ⲡⲓⲧⲛ* here corresponds to "below," *infra*, and is the opposite of *ⲧⲡⲉ*, *supra*, as used *e.g.*, *Aeg. Z.*, 1884, 151, *ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥϣⲣⲛⲥⲅⲁⲓ* *ⲛⲧⲡⲉ*.†

(2) *ⲡⲓⲧⲛ* is frequently found in descriptions of property or definitions of boundaries, *e.g.* :—

Brit. Mus., Or. 4870, *ⲡⲭⲱⲣⲏⲙⲁ* *ⲧⲏⲣⲉϥ* *ⲉⲧⲛⲡⲓⲧⲡⲉ*
(var. ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛ) *ⲛⲡⲏ* *ⲛⲕⲕⲏⲣⲟⲡⲟⲙⲟⲥ* &c.

Brit. Mus., 4883, *property* *ⲡⲁⲓ* *ⲉⲧⲛⲡⲉⲓⲧⲛ* *ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲉⲛⲧ*
ⲛⲡⲏ *ⲛⲅⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁ*.

Brit. Mus., 4868, *ⲡⲏ* *ⲧⲏⲣϥ* . . . *ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉⲓⲧⲛ* *ⲙⲡⲏ*
ⲙⲑⲓⲗⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ.

Ciasca, pap. vi, *ⲟⲙⲟⲓ/* *ⲛϣⲅⲓⲥⲉ* *ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲛ* *ⲅⲓⲃⲟⲗ* *ⲛⲡⲣⲟ*
ⲛⲧⲉⲅⲉⲁⲣⲁ *ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ* *ⲉⲛϣⲟⲩⲱⲣⲅ* (?) *ⲡⲉⲕⲅⲟ* *ⲁⲛⲅⲏⲧ*.

Brit. Mus., pap. ciii, *ⲡⲥⲁⲏⲡⲱⲥⲓⲟⲛ* *ⲉⲧⲅⲓⲡⲧⲱⲣⲧ* *ⲉⲧⲛ*
ⲡⲓⲧⲛ *ⲛⲧⲉⲅⲉⲁⲣⲁ*.

With these quotations compare—

* *E.g.*, Gal. iv, 26; Col. iii, 2.

† Bodl. Hunt. 393, p. 19, has *ⲕⲁⲧⲁ* *ⲟⲉ* *ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱ* *ⲭⲱ* *ⲙⲡⲁⲓ*
ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲏ.

Brit. Mus., pap. ci A, ΤΧΗΡΕ ΕΤΗΤΠΕ ΠΤΕΞΡΑΟΥ
(= εζερα).¹

Ciasca, *l.l.*, ολλοι/ πνκελετε πτπε π[τ]χηρε
πτεξερα.

The meaning of the word ΕΤΗΠ in more strictly literary texts appears to differ considerably from that here exemplified and to translate such Greek words as κοπρία, γῆ &c. (*v.* Peyron).

Whether ΖΟΥΤΗ Zoega, 295 is a derivative of the same root I do not know. The Latin version of the passage (Migne, *P.L.*, 73. 952) supports Peyron's translation (*cf.* Goodwin, *Aeg. Z.*, 1871, 24).

Mr. Griffith informs me that ΕΤΗΠ is often met with in Demotic texts in expressions such as "on the ground," "down to the ground" and the like; a usage clearly preparatory to that displayed in the above quotations.

III.—EGYPTIAN "ORANTES."

Much attention has of late years been paid to the type of male or female figures with outstretched arms met with on the early Christian monuments (catacombs, sarcophagi &c.) and known generically as *orantes*. It is assumed that the type is of Christian origin and though some admit the occurrence of pagan statues in similar attitudes,* others declare that "no certain parallels from præ-Christian times" are to be found.†

I wish here merely to call attention to certain Egyptian representations which, while indisputably pagan, bear an undeniable resemblance to the *orans* figures; and among these a sepulchral stele in the Alexandria Museum, from which the accompanying sketch is taken,‡ is especially



* Liell, *Mariadarstellungen*, 124, 125.

† Sittl, *Die Gebärden*, 306.

‡ No. 342; limestone; 35 × 17 cm. Below the figure, ¹ΔΙΗCΜΗΝΩ

²ΛΗ ΜΕΧΙΡ ΙΖ. *Cf.* the name 'Ισμηνόδωρος, *C.I.G.*, 1542.

noticeable. It is true that the arms are lifted somewhat higher than is the case with most Christian *orantes*;* yet one is inclined to assume a similar meaning in the gesture. Here however there can be little doubt that the figure is—as in most classes of Egyptian stelæ from earlier epochs—a conventional portrait of the deceased; and such a consideration has already led Liell to argue against any real relationship between the pagan and Christian types, the latter of which it is now usual to regard as a personification of the departed soul. Seeing that the rare Egyptian monuments whereon such a gesture is represented all belong to Græco-Roman times,† there is no need to seek an Egyptian genealogy for the figure in our sketch;‡ it is probably best regarded as directly borrowed from European models. This is the more likely owing to the known aversion (or incapacity) of the native artists for representations of the human figure *en face*.

* Tertullian, *De orat.*, iii, “ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis sed temperate ac probe elatis” (quoted *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, 1464).

† Another stele in Alexandria, no. 113, has a similar figure without the jackals, while Botti's *Notice des Mons.* (1893), pp. 88, 89, nos. XII, XV, describes female figures with raised arms. Brit. Mus., no. 821 (Egyptian Gallery) shows the deceased reclining on a couch at the foot of which stands a smaller, male figure with raised arms. Is this a relative, as in the older stelæ? Jackals and offering-table (?) are here in a lower register and the inscription ends with *ενψύχει*. In Sharpe, *Egypt. Inscr.*, II, 64 three male figures raise the arms before Osiris, presumably in adoration.

‡ No early representation of a Christian *orans* is known from Egypt. One of the oldest must be—if indeed Christian,—the sketch on papyrus, said to be of the 3rd century (Rainer *Führer* 1894, 93). Figures with similarly raised arms on the more ancient monuments, e.g. *L.D.* III. 108, seem to express joy or gratitude (v. Erman, *Ägypten*, 174).



DANCING WORSHIP.

June 3, 1899.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1898, p. 108, Prof. Morris Jastrow has a note upon הַסְעָפִים, 1 Kings xviii, 21, showing that the emendation of Klostermann into הַסְפִים "thresholds," is the correct reading: "How long leap ye over the two thresholds?" (see 1 Samuel v, 5, and Zephaniah i, 9), and alluding to the rite of leaping upon the altar in the same chapter of Kings, verse 26. He cites the Targum paraphrase upon Zephaniah i, 9, "those that walk in the custom of the Philistines," and the LXX addition to the passage in 1 Samuel v, 5, "because leaping they leap over it" (the threshold), and points out the prevalence of the rite of jumping or eaping in Semitic worship.

He does not, however, note, as an author in the *Revue Biblique*, 1896, p. 228, did, in reference to the leaping upon the altar, that in two Greek inscriptions and one Latin, Baal is called Baal Markod, *Lord of Leaping*, from Rakad, and therefore the passage in Kings is a jest upon this form of worship, and that Herodian tells us Heliogabalus in his assumed rôle of a Syrian priest acted the rite περί τε τοῖς βωμοῖς χορεύοντα. The new "Golenischeff Papyrus" (*Recueil de Travaux*, XXI, p. 81, &c.), containing the travels of an Egyptian functionary upon the Syrian coast in search of timber for the building of a sacred barque, has an interesting passage upon this dancing worship. In this case the dancing was instigated by the Canaanite deity, and was the exciting cause of oracular utterances upon the part of a courtier of Bodil, prince of Dor, the Canaanite city to the south of Carmel, the site of the events of 1 Kings, xviii, a town that the tribe of Manasseh failed to conquer; see Judges i, 27.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH OFFORD.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

There was a god Allai or Alai, venerated in Assyria. The names Išdi-A-la-a and Man-nu-ki-(ilu)-Al-la-a render this certain. The forms of these names are pure Assyrian, so that if Alai is foreign, the adoption must have taken place somewhat early in the history of the country. Cf. also Ardi-(ilu) Al-la-a-a.

Although the verb *raḥâmu*, "to be piteous," is not yet entered in Assyrian Lexicons; the names Raḥimû, Raḥimâ, and especially Raḥimu-šarri point to its being known. Whether it is a loan word from Arabic or Hebrew, or whether it is a bye-form of the common word *râmu* must be left open.

Names like Puṭu-(ilu)-Paiti, Puṭu-Piati, and Puṭu-umḥiešu serve to establish an element *puṭu* as compounded with a divine name following. This suggests a god Piatî, or Paitî, and also Umḥiešu. In the latter case the first element may be Puṭum. Alongside these names we may put those beginning with Pudi, or as it may be read, Puṭi. Such are Puṭi-ili, Puṭi-ḥu-u-ru-u, Puṭi-kit-a-a or Puṭi-saḥ-a-a, Puṭi-ma-a-ni, and Puṭi-šeri. The second elements, ili and Ḥûrû, support the suggestion that Saḥi, Mâni, and Šeri may be gods, but of what nationality? There is an Egyptian flavour about some of these names. On the other hand Puṭu may belong to some other speech. They do not seem Assyrian.

A number of names in Assyrian are derived from the date of birth. The forms derived from the names of the months have long been remarked. Thus we have Tebetai from Tebêtu, Ululai for Ulûlu, which have been often noted. Also we have Nisanai from Nisânu, Simanai from Simânu, Abu-ai(?) from Âbu: these seem to me new. Still more singular are the names from the day of birth: such are    ,          ; names actually borne by living men as parties to contracts. Whether each day was sacred to a god, and these names are derived from that divine name, or whether we are to build up phonetic readings from the numerals themselves, does not seem clear. These names are clearly distinct from          .

𐤔𐤓 𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤕, which may be read Tammeš-idri, Tammeš-natanu and Tammeš-tatapu ; but seem to have some relation to 𐤔𐤓 𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤕𐤕, 𐤔𐤓 𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕, and 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 which may be read Ūmê-ṭabâti, Ūmê-damḳâti, and Ūmû-balâti.

The practice of "fulling" or whitening clothes as distinct from mere washing of them was an organised trade in Assyria and Babylonia. We have frequent mention of the *amêl puṣaia*, or "fuller," and of garments sent to be "fulled," *ana puṣî*. It may not have been noticed that the *kaḳḳaru puṣê*, of which a diminutive is *kaḳḳiru puṣê*, and which clearly denotes a "fuller's field," occurs often in Assyrian contracts. It was situated outside the city wall, near a brook, was enclosed, and needed planks and beams for its construction. These must have been for the tables and benches at which the fullers worked. Its dimensions vary very much, from a size 5 cubits by 4, to one 28 cubits by 20. The prices paid for these properties were high, showing that the trade was lucrative. We also have a reference to "fuller's meal," *še'u puṣi*, of which the ideogram is 𐤕𐤕 𐤔𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. Whether this was bean-meal or some white earth does not appear.

C. H. W. J.

13th March, 1899.



CHEDORLAOMER.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

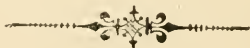
With reference to a copy of an inscription published by Père Scheil in the *Recueil de Travaux*, two years ago, mentioning Chedorlaomer, which was printed in the *Proceedings*, it has now, I believe, been conclusively settled that the translation, as far as Chedorlaomer is concerned, was an error.

The tablet has been published in *The Letters of Hammurabi*, by Mr L. W. King, and the question is again discussed in *Light from the East*, by the Rev. C. J. Ball. I may also refer to the paper by Knudtzen and Delitzsch, published in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (iv heft 1, 1899), in which this and other tablets relating to Hammurabi have been re-edited and re-translated.

As many readers may make use of the note in our *Proceedings* for March, 1898, in which I gave a copy of Père Scheil's translation, I think it may be useful to send you the above references.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH OFFORD.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 7th November, 1899, at 4.30 p.m.

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VOL. XXI. TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

Sixth Meeting, November 7th, 1899.

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THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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Sixth Meeting, 7th November, 1899.

JOSEPH POLLARD, MEMBER OF COUNCIL,

IN THE CHAIR.



The Chairman referred to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of several of its distinguished Members, who took the greatest interest in the Society, and were always ready to assist in securing its welfare.

MONSIEUR JOACHIM MENANT, Membre de l'Institut, Conseiller Honoraire à la Cour d'Appel, Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur, Officer de l'Instruction Publique, etc., etc. Honorary Member of the Society.

Born, 1820.

Died 30th August, 1899.

CANON ST. VINCENT BEECHEY, Honorary Canon of Manchester.

Born August the 7th, 1806.

Died August the 19th, 1899.

WILLIAM SIMPSON, Member of the Royal Institute of Water Colours, etc.

Born, 1823.

Died August, 1899.

REV. WILLIAM WRIGHT, D.D., Editorial Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Born January 15th, 1837.

Died July 31st, 1899.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Rev. P. A. Cesare de Cara, S.J. *I Dialetti Italici e gl' Itali della storia. Sommario. Civiltà Cattolica.* June, July and August, 1899. 8vo.

————— *I Dialetti Italici e gl' Itali della storia. Sommario la Grammatica. Civiltà Cattolica.* September, 1899. 8vo.

From the Author :—Prof. E. Schiaparelli. *Di un Vaso Fenicio rinvenuto in una tomba della Necropoli di Tarquinii. Folio.* Rome. 1898. *Monumenti Antichi*, Vol. VIII. 1898.

From the Author :—Prof. E. Naville. *Le père de Thoutmès III. Figurines Égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque. (Avec trois planches.) Rec. de Travaux*, Vol. XXI. Folio. 1899.

————— *Les plus anciens monuments Égyptiens. Rec. de Travaux*, Vol. XXI. Folio. Paris. 1899.

From the Author :—Prof. Dr. Fritz Hommel. *Die Südarabischen Altertümer (Eduard Glaser Sammlung) des Wiener Hofmuseums und ihr Herausgeber Professor David Heinrich Müller. 8vo.* Munich. 1899.

From Joseph Pollard, Esq. *Catalogue of Antiquities from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Diospolis, and a Loan Collection of Prehistoric Vases, exhibited by permission*

of the Council at University College, Gower Street, London, July, 1899. 8vo.

From the Author:—Prof. Eduard Sachau. *Studie zur Syrischen Kirchenlitteratur der Damascene.* 8vo. Berlin. 1899.

Königl. Preuss. Akad., B. XXVII. 1899.

From the Author:—Rev. H. W. Dearden, M.A. *Modern Romanism Examined.* 8vo. London. 1899.

From the Author:—John Irwine Whitty, LL.D., D.C.L., M.A. *Ode on the Discovery at Jerusalem of "Whitty's Wall" (King Solomon's Rampart), etc.* 8vo. London. 1899.

From the Author:—Vilh Thomsen. *Remarques sur la parenté de la langue Étrusque.* 8vo. Copenhagen. 1899.

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From the Publisher:—A. Durlacher, Paris. *La Bible de la jeunesse, traduite de l'Hébreu et abrégée, par les Membres du Rabbinate Français, sous la direction de M. Zadoc Kahn, Grand Rabbin. Tome I (Pentateuque—premiers Prophètes).* 8vo. Paris. 1889.

La Bible traduite du texte original, par les Membres du Rabbinate Français, sous la direction de M. Zadoc Kahn, Grand Rabbin. Tome I (Pentateuque—premiers Prophètes). 8vo. Paris. 1899.

From Dr. Hayes Ward. *Palestine Exploration Society [American] No. 2. Second Statement. September, 1873. Contains Husn Sulayman. Hamath Inscriptions. First Year in the Field. Lieutenant Steever's Despatches.* New York. 8vo.

From the Author:—Sir Henry H. Howorth. *The Early History of Babylonia. I. The Rulers of Kengi and Kish. III. Shirkpurla and its Neighbours.* *English Historical Review*, October, 1899.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, on the 5th December :—

George Alexander Pirie, M.A., M.D., 43, Tay Street, Dundee.

Fayette L. Thompson, Pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Jackson, Mich., U.S.A.

Francis Davidson Outram (Late R.E.), A.M.I.C.E., The Manor Lodge, Worcester Park, Surrey.

F. Legge, one of the Delegates of the Society, read a Report on the 12th Congress of Orientalists held at Rome, October 3-15.

Remarks were added by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, Dr. Gaster, Sir H. H. Howorth, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.



THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS OF 1899.

BY F. LEGGE.

The XIIth Congress of Orientalists was duly held at Rome, and was very largely attended. Instead of the usual week, it lasted from the 3rd to the 15th of October, the extra time not being more than sufficient for visiting the museums and other objects of interest which are so abundant in Rome. The papers read at the Congress, if not quite so learned as usual, were rather more popular than has sometimes been the case, and although there were no startling sensations announced, one or two at least may prove to be of lasting importance. For the sake of clearness I will divide those which especially concern the work of the Society into three groups, one of which I will call Biblical, the second Egyptological, and the third Assyriological, although, of course, the subjects sometimes overlap. The Egyptian and most of the Assyriological papers I managed to hear myself, but I was seldom able to attend the Semitic section, which generally sat at the same time as one of the others. I have therefore had to rely for the papers there read upon the reports of others, and had it not been for the kindness of Mr. Perowne, a member of the Society, and for sometime Secretary of the section, I should not have been able to give much account of its proceedings.*

(1) *Biblical.*

Dr. Ginsburg announced the discovery in the *Geniza* of the Sephardic Jews at Cairo, of a Biblical text written entirely in abbreviations, each word being represented by a single letter, the letter chosen being that which bears the Masoretic accent. He thinks that the MS. was made either for use at public readings of Scripture, or as an aid to the memory of pupils. It is said to account for many of the abbreviations on Maccabæan coins and in the LXX. Dr. Ginsburg also read a paper on a Masoretic fragment from the same *Geniza* giving some new readings attributed to the Babylonian school. Some of the Masoretic points in this MS. are here met with for the first time, as are certain signs intended to mark

* Even now I am not sure that I have in all cases reported the speakers correctly. But, in view of the fact that the Acts of the Congress will not appear for at least two years, it seems that even a faulty report may be better than none.

the different readings of parallel passages. In the few cases where the MS. gives vowels, they are inserted above the line.

Dr. Jastrow (of Philadelphia) read a paper on the name of Samuel, and the different word-plays of some of the passages of Scripture in which it is used. He traces the root of the word in the first instance to the verb שאל, "to ask," which is, apparently, near enough in sound to Samuel (שמואל) for the name to be suggested by Hannah's speech (1 Sam. i, 20), which he reads, "And she called his name Samuel, for from Iahweh I asked him." But שאל, according to Dr. Jastrow, means especially to "ask an oracle," and the noun formed from שאל therefore means "one who asks oracles," i.e., a priest. Of this he gives many instances from Scripture, as Deut. xviii, 11, "the tier of knots . . the inquirer;" (ושאל), 1 Chron. x, 13, "one that had a familiar spirit to inquire of it (לשואל), and the like,* and thinks that this is the pun contained in 1 Sam. i, 28 which he would read not as in the R.V., "Therefore I have also granted him," but "therefore I have devoted him [qy., made him priest?] to the Lord." The name Samuel itself he compares to the Shebuel שבועל, grandson of Moses, of 1 Chron xxiii, 16, and thinks that the first syllable can be explained by the Assyrian *šumu* ("son"), which is found in name like Nabu-šum-iddin, Šamaš-šum-ukin, etc. He therefore considers the whole name to mean, "son (or offspring) of God."

Professor Haupt (of Baltimore) read a paper on the Seraphim and Cherubim. The Seraphim, he thinks, should be considered as serpent-formed beings typifying the lightning, and correspond to the erect serpents [uræi?] found in the decorations of both Egyptian and Babylonian temples. The Cherubim originally represented the winds, and as the winds fertilize the female flowers of the palm-tree by bringing to them the pollen of the male, he finds it natural that the Assyrian cherubs should so frequently be represented as engaged in the fructification of palm-flowers. The name cherub [כרוב?] in Babylonian means "gracious" or "favourable," and is a synonym of *damqu*. The winds are sometimes favourable, sometimes unfavourable, or *limnu*. Some doubts as to this derivation were stated by Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hommel, and others.

A discussion also arose in the Semitic section on the Hebrew

* Also with the Assyrian *ša-i-lu* as in the Tel el-Amarna letters (22 of W.).

fragments of Ecclesiasticus lately discovered by Dr. Schechter. It began, I understand, in a communication from Dr. Belleli setting forth their importance and originality, and contradicting the opinion of Prof. Margoliouth that they were but a Hebrew translation of a Syriac or Aramæan original. M. Israel Lévy, who with others supported Prof. Margoliouth's contention, has, I believe, since published a paper on the subject in the current (November) number of the "Revue d'Études juives," and I will therefore make no further mention here of the discussion, a full report of which was taken by Mr. Perowne.

The Abbe Bourdais contributed a paper, of which only the third part was read to the Congress. He told us that being convinced that the cosmogonies of the two first chapters of Genesis were first put into shape on the banks of the Euphrates, he had turned them back into cuneiform, and had also translated them into "the language of modern science." The part read only showed the agreement between the two, but the whole paper will doubtless be printed, and should be interesting.

Among the other papers in the Biblical group were one by Prof. Montelt (of Geneva) on a medallion of the 15th century, bearing an image of Christ with a derisive Hebrew inscription, one by Prof. Merx upon the age of the Targum on Canticles, which is interesting in view of the opinion of Canon Cheyne ("Encyc. Bibl.," s.v. Canticles) that this book obtained by mistake its place in the Canon, and one by Dr. Castelli upon the antecedents of the Cabala as shown in the Bible and Talmud. A proposal by Dr. Zanini for a "scientifically-incontestable version of the Bible" was not received with much favour.

(2) *Egyptological.*

Dr. Borchardt (of Cairo) contributed a paper, read by Dr. Erman, on a new find of papyri last winter at Kahun, which are now in the Berlin Museum. They seem to have formed part of the archives of a temple, and to include a sort of day-book in which the priests recorded any events which they considered remarkable. In it is mentioned that in the seventh year of Usertesen III, the star Sothis (Sirius) was for the first time on the horizon at daybreak* on the sixteenth day of the eighth month. Working back to this, Dr. Borchardt

* This is, I think, what was meant, Dr. Erman used only the word "aufgegangen."

was able to announce that the seventh year of Usertesen III must have fallen between the years 1876-1872 B.C., and this he claims as the earliest absolute date* in history. Prof. Petrie, whose chronology is mostly founded on that of Mahler, puts Usertesen III's latest date at 2622 B.C., and if Dr. Borchardt's figures hold good, he will therefore have brought the XIIth dynasty nearer to us by nearly eight centuries. The paper was at once attacked by Dr. Eisenlohr and others, but the President decided that the discussion was too mathematical to be usefully continued in the absence of the author. Mr. Fleay's remarks in his just published book on Egyptian chronology, that all such records were manipulated by their authors so as to get Sothic periods from their epochs for first kings down to some important change in the condition of the country, or else to the monarch regnant when the scheme was made, might explain the discrepancy, but this, as well as the proofs on which Dr. Borchardt relies, will no doubt appear better when the paper is printed.

Professor Schiaparelli (of Turin) gave an account of a great mass of papyri, unfortunately in a very fragmentary condition, which are in the Museum of which he is Director. These, which I afterwards saw at Turin, are all in Hieratic, and have already been reduced to order and mounted, although the cataloguing of them is by no means complete. They comprise, among other things, some war-songs in a language which is not Egyptian, but which Professor Schiaparelli thinks may be a Libyan dialect. There are also many religious texts and several historical fragments, including some with plans of the necropolis at Thebes. They are all of the time of the XIXth and XXth dynasties.

Professor Schiaparelli also exhibited to the Egyptian section a piece of woven stuff made during the Coptic period, on which was displayed the full-face portrait of a man with fair hair and a peculiar type of features. This was recognised by both Prof. Schiaparelli and Prof. Revillout, the historian of the Blemmyes, as resembling the modern Ababdeh, the descendants of the Blemmyes, who so troubled Egypt during Byzantine times that one of them was actually proclaimed Emperor. It follows from the apparent age of the portrait that it forms an authentic likeness of some Blemmye chief.

Professor Schmidt (of Copenhagen) contributed two papers, one upon the *cartonnage* or *papier mâché* envelopes in which certain

* That is, fixed on astronomical data. The battle of the Halys, fixed by a solar eclipse at about 600 B.C., has hitherto held that position.

mummies are laid. He thinks that the practice began with the XXIIInd dynasty and came to an end with the XXVIth, although the practice of using *papier mâché* masks continued well into Coptic times. The original idea seems to have been to prevent the mummy from being crushed by the fall of earth and the like upon it, the arched shape of the *cartonnage* being able to withstand a very considerable pressure. Prof. Schmidt's other paper was on the Petubast or Petibast of the demotic romance just published by Dr. Krall from a papyrus in the collection of Archduke Rainer. He thinks that this Petubast is neither the Pharaoh of the XXIIInd dynasty, as Dr. Krale asserts, nor the Petibast spoken of in the Annals of Assurbanipal, as M. Maspero thinks, but a hitherto unknown kinglet, of whom there is a bronze statuette in the Stroganoff collection and a mutilated stele in the Museum at Copenhagen.

M. Guimet, head of the Paris Museum of the same name, gave an account of Egyptian objects lately found in different Isaic tombs in France. From this it appears that several objects known to the ancient Egyptian worship, such as the *ushabti* figures, were found in tombs at Nîmes and elsewhere belonging to the worshippers of the Greek or Alexandrian Isis in such quantities as to leave no doubt that their deposition formed part of the regular funeral ceremony. This is a very singular fact, and seems to clear up a point which has often been disputed, viz., whether the Alexandrian religion, which most scholars are agreed was founded on Orphic or Eleusinian doctrine, really contained any traces of Egyptian admixture.

Prof. Naville, a member of this Society, made a communication to the section on certain bas-reliefs relating to Queen Hatasu, which had been photographed by M. Legrain at Karnak. The blocks on which they were had been built into a wall by direction of Ramses III. The bas-reliefs depict scenes of adoration of Amen, the consecration of two obelisks, and a ceremony which M. Naville thinks is the apotheosis of the queen. He does not know any other example of this ceremony, and hopes that further excavations may enable him to complete a description of it.

Prof. Haupt also contributed a paper to this section on the Mitannian wives of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. He assumes that Gilukhipa the sister of king Dušratta of Mitanni, was the wife of Amenhotep III, and that Dušratta's daughter

Gilukhipa was the wife of Amenhotep IV and the niece of Gilukhipa. [See table in Petrie's *Hist. of Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 181.] He endeavoured to show from the cuneiform text that the expression in the letter from king Dušratta of Mitanni to queen Tyi which Winckler [Tell-el-Amarna Letters, No. 22] translates "your concubine," really means "your daughter-in-law." The subject has been already touched upon several times in the *Proceedings* of the Society. The theory of Prof. Wiedemann that Tadukhipa was the daughter of queen Tyi [*Proceedings*, XVII, p. 157] is of course opposed to this.

M. Philippe Virey gave a detailed reading of the stele of Minephthah, generally called "the Israel Stele." The part relating to the Israelites he translates "Le Hittite rend l'hommage; les Kananéens sont capturés, comme tous mauvais; l'Ascalonite est transporté Israel est deraciné; il n'y en a plus de graine (en Égypte)." He therefore on the whole confirms M. Naville's translation (for which see *Proceedings*, XX, p. 54). And he places, like so many others, the Exodus at the beginning of the reign of Minephthah.

Prof. Hommel (of Munich) also made a communication on the plumes represented on the head of the god Bes and the goddess Anuket. He showed that there are several Babylonian cylinders in existence (for which he referred to his *Die südarabische Altertümer des Wiener Hofmuseums*, p. 32, *sqq*) in which an Arab who fights a lion is represented with a crown of feathers on his head exactly similar to those worn by Bes and Anuket. He therefore considers them as an Arab head dress, and he deduces from this that the worship of both Bes and Anuket was imported into Egypt from Arabia.

The other papers in the Egyptian section included further contributions of Prof. Piehl (of Upsala) to the Hieroglyphic Dictionary, communications from Prof. Revillout on points connected with Egyptian law, and from Prof. Botti, of Alexandria, as to excavations recently made in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and at Gizeh.

(3) *Assyriological.*

Prof. Haupt's communications under this head comprise one delivered to the whole Congress on the sanitary effect of the Mosaic ritual, which he held was derived not from Egypt but from Babylonia. Thus the book of Leviticus, which he supposes was written in Babylon about 500 B.C., contains many well-devised rules for

avoiding the contagion of leprosy. This leprosy he concludes to be not true leprosy, or *elephantiasis*, but a great number of skin diseases, some of which are not particularly dangerous, but for which the treatment prescribed is a fairly safe cure. He declared that the priests were the health officers of the community, and as such had to see that their flocks were provided with pure food, pure water, and pure air; that the linen prescribed for their dress has been shown to be the clothing material least likely to carry infection; that the pilgrimages and visits to holy places were the means of providing the Israelites with that change of air and scene which modern science has shown to be necessary for health, and that all their sanitary regulations had a similar origin. He also thought that these observances were put under a religious sanction because that was the only one that the people were likely to heed.

He also read a paper before the Semitic section on the name of Xisuthros, the Babylonian Noah, which he would read *Per-napistim*. The older readings of *Nūh-napistim*, or *Sit-napistim* he declared to be untenable. The other name of Per-napistim, *i.e.*, Atra-khasis or Watra-khasis, he translates "very wise," comparing the first syllable with the Aramæan *yattir* [יָתִיר?], and thinks that the adverb is transposed in later tradition, as in the Aramæan *yattir-hakkim* or *hakkim-yattir*. The khasis with the *a* syncopated would be naturally represented in Greek by *Xis*, as in Khshâyartha = Ἐρξῆς, Artakh-shatra = Ἀρταξέρξης, and the like. The *u* in Xisuthros he gets from the first stem-consonant in *watra*, while the *θ* is the proper transliteration of the *t*. And he thinks, with Jastrow, that the "Noah walked with God" [Elohim] of Genesis vi, 9 may be an echo of the Babylonian tradition of Per-napistim's apotheosis.

He also made some remarks upon the importance of the Babylonian ritual tables for the understanding of the Israelite ritual, and stated his belief that the words Torah [תּוֹרָה?], Urim [אֲוִרִים], Berith [בְּרִית], and Pesah [פֶּסַח] had a Babylonian origin.

The Hon. Emmeline Plunket, a member of this Society, read a paper on Vedic Astronomy to the Indian section. It was to have been reproduced with limelight illustrations before the whole Congress, but at the last moment it was discovered, to the disappointment of all present, that the slides did not fit the lantern provided. Miss Plunket opposed the theory, started, I think, by Letronne,

and until now pretty generally accepted, that the astronomy of the Hindus, and particularly their Zodiac, was necessarily derived from that of the Greeks, from whom the Hindus are said to have received it after Alexander's conquest. Her contention is that the Accadian calendar, which depends on the Zodiacal constellations, was constructed not less than six thousand years before Christ—a view which was first put forward by her in the *Proceedings* of the Society—and that the knowledge of it had very early penetrated to India, where it inspired the imagery of some of the Vedic myths. The proofs offered for this are very difficult to summarize without the diagrams, but it may be pointed out that it would be necessary for the author's purpose to prove the Babylonian origin of the Hindu Zodiacal system as it existed in pre-Alexandrine times only, and not, as some of the speakers at the Congress seem to have assumed, of that which the Hindus adopted from the Greeks afterwards. Dr. Burgess, who spoke on this paper, admitted that the *nak shatras* or lunar stations which are mentioned in the Rig Véda were derived by the Hindus from Arabia, and ultimately from Babylonia, while Dr. Formichi gave some proofs that Hindu astronomy in the 6–5 centuries B.C. had reached a high degree of development.

Prof. Johansson (of Lund) read a paper to the Semitic section on the Khabiri in the Tel-el-Amarna Letters. He thinks that the word means “confederates,” and has the same root as the Hebrew *habur* [חֲבֵרִי]. Also, that they could not have been a scattered folk like the Israelites, but must have been a settled people of nearly equal strength to the Hittites.

Prof. Montet read a paper to the same section on the origin of the Israelites, in which he negatived the idea that their first home was “Ur of the Chaldees.” He sought to show that the Arabic traditions are unanimous in attributing the common birth-place of all Semitic peoples to Arabia, and he gave instances from Arabian inscriptions to show that the ancient Aramæan and Arabic languages must at one time have been the same. He therefore claimed that Arabia must have been at some date before 2000 B.C. the point whence the Israelites emigrated.

The other papers in this group included one by Dr. Gaster of this Society upon Magic Alphabets, of which he gave several examples from Hebrew MSS. of XIIIth to XVth centuries, and a curious study by Dr. Senes on the Assyrian Sphinx, which he claimed as, amongst other things, an emblem of the Trinity.

NOTES ON HIEROGLYPHS.

THE HEAD. THE PAPYRUS ROLL. THE SOLDIER.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

The value of demotic study in connexion with hieroglyphic research, will be apparent from many of the following notes:—

1. *The Head*.—Professor Erman (*Papyrus Westcar, Text*, p. 21, has noted an apparent variation of  with     , but it will be admitted that the example affords no absolute proof that  is ever to be read *s's'*. The value *tp* for the head in the group   *tpi*, is not questioned, and demotic spelling clearly shows that “head”  is also to be read *tp*. (If this be so, then  stands to   in orthography, much as  to  ,  to  ,  to ;  being used in the original picture-value and its homonyms, but   in derivatives, in which marked differences of pronunciation occurred from the picture value.) Now   “prince,” is written out    *htp* in demotic, BR. *Thes.*, 1024, KRALL, *Hist. Rom., Gloss.*, No. 209. In demotic the common word for “head” is *sz*, -, but in archaistic texts (never in the stories) there is along with it another word  *tp*, masculine gender, e.g., *p'e-k tpe*, “thy head,” *Rh. Bil.*, XI, 11. Apparently  *tp* is an old word gradually displaced by *s's'*. The latter seems not to occur before the Middle Kingdom, but then rapidly got the upper hand. It is possible that *tp* represents an early   *szp*, as no early variants exist; but certainly  was never *s's'*.

2. *The Papyrus-roll*.—In “*Hieroglyphs*” (p. 55) I have given the masc. value of  as , and the fem. (doubtfully) as

  . The value of the former is indisputable, but demotic proves a different reading, *mz'.t*, for the latter. There was no proof, but only a moderate probability, that   and   were identical.

From the Rosetta inscription and elsewhere (BR. *Wtb.* 732 cf. *Thes.* 930, 936) an equation is well known     *sš.w* (*sesh.u*) *t ntr* = either *πτεροφοροι* or else *ιερογραμματαις* (the latter being indicated by one of the copies of Canopus) =       *n' sš.w mzy ntr*. The fem. word *mzy.t* occurs in II. S., for "roll" or "book." The meaning of the demotic title is therefore precisely that of the hieroglyphic, viz., "scribes of the divine book" or "roll." The natural equivalent of *mzy.t*, viz.,   occurs in the plural in Pyr. of *Unas*, l. 601 (no parallel text). Thus the rather common group   is to be read *mz'.t* (*meza.t*). For the meaning it may be noted that in *Pap. Ebers.* xxx, 7, there is a reference to a "*mz'.t* without writing."

This original word-sign value of  is transferred to the spelling of    *Leyden*, III, Pl. XXIV, *Tomb. de Sety I*, part 3, Pl. XIII).

It is here the name of the chisel used in "opening the mouth" of the deceased, not unlike the *menkh*-chisel in form (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 49).

In the papyri its name is written   *D*,   *NAV. Todtb.*, ch. xxiii, etc. It is found in demotic (HESS. *Setne*, p. 26) in a papyrus at Vienna, and is the origin of the Coptic, B.   *XXI*, in Septuagint *λαξευτηριον* (TATTAM), "a mason's or wood-cutter's tool" (not quite *securis*, *bipennis*, as Peyron renders the Coptic word).*

3. *The Soldier*.—In continuation of my note, *P.S.B.A.*, 1898, p. 299, I now have other evidence to bring forward which seems to upset the proposed value *sš* for the early period entirely.   means "superintendent of an expedition," "captain of a host," generally military or naval, but sometimes civil, e.g., of quarrymen

* I have since observed that BRUGSCH, *Wtb. suppl.*, pp. 860-863, s.v. *hṯp*, had already assigned the true value, *mz'.t* to . The value, however, seems now quite neglected by Egyptologists. The present proof, I believe, leaves no doubt of its correctness.

The identification of the origin of $\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ raises the question whether the Sahidic magistrate's title $\lambda\alpha\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon$, discovered by Goodwin in the Jême papyri, *A.Z.* 1869, 144 is not derived from the demotic $mr \text{ } \text{šn}$ = ἀρχιερεύς =     in *Ros.*, l. 4 and *Can.*, and this again from the    $mr \text{ } \text{šnt}$ of the Middle Kingdom, who, however, was not in the hierarchy. The reading of the demotic word was first recognised by BRUGSCH, *apud* SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, xvi, 25, the ligature λ being the same as for šn , "enquire." The Middle Kingdom title is discussed by SPIEGELBERG, *A.Z.*, 1898, 138. For the rare Coptic word, Mr. CRUM informs me that, though in all the papyri he finds no exact equation between $\lambda\alpha\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$, he is fairly certain that they are identical, and that they are entirely civil, not ecclesiastical. In one case the magistrate is called " $\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ of the monastery and of the whole castrum," but elsewhere they are always " $\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\kappa$. of Castrum Jême."

There is evidently no close correspondence in meaning between the hieroglyphic    , the demotic $mr \text{ } \text{šn}$, and the Coptic $\lambda\alpha\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon$, yet the variation in the meaning of titles is so great at different periods, especially with Ptolemaic, Roman, and Christian reconstructions, that the etymological equation of the three seems quite possible. $\lambda\alpha$ has the form of a "verbal adjective" (STEIND., *K. Gram.*, p. 322), from $\lambda\omicron$, but this may be due to false analogy.



TRANSLITERATION OF DEMOTIC.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

In the *Proceedings* for 1896, pp. 102-4, I gave a few gleanings from the first story of Setne (here quoted as *I S.*). Lately I have again been occupied with demotic, and am preparing a newly-discovered story (*II S.*) for publication by the Clarendon Press. It is difficult to fix the age of literary documents, but perhaps *I S.* may be assigned to the first century B.C., and *II S.* to the second century A.D. The former is a very fine example of writing of what is, perhaps, the best period; the latter is carelessly written, and belongs chronologically to the group represented by the story of the "cat and monkey" at Leyden (*Leyden I*, 384), little if at all earlier than the Gnostic papyri with Greek transcriptions.

The present note is intended to briefly explain and justify the system of transliteration that I am using; it will be followed by attempts to fix the value of some common groups in demotic which are wrongly or inaccurately read in the most recent publications, and to set down definitely some leading grammatical forms and rules, drawing attention at the same time to the interest and value of demotic study in connexion with Coptic and Egyptian.

I.—*System of Transliteration.*

Demotic writing is so complicated that transliteration of some kind is an absolute necessity, whether to aid the new student to master the reading of a text, or to show an editor's interpretation of the script in particular passages where there is special difficulty or ambiguity, or to enable a printer to render a quotation in simple types. And one of the most necessary conditions of a practical system seems to be that, when the transliteration is made, it should be easy to refer from it to a vocabulary alphabetically arranged, *i.e.*, that the words as transliterated should be easy to arrange in a natural alphabetic order. But where the spelling of different scribes

and different periods is so variable and vague as it is in demotic, this condition is one that can only be approximately satisfied if etymology is to be in the least respected. While the language of the texts was essentially Coptic—far more so than in the period of late Egyptian—the spelling was necessarily founded on that of old Egyptian; the writing is full of examples of false analogy, and most remarkable combinations were sometimes resorted to for rendering simple vocables.

Demotic, like hieroglyphic writing, as a rule represents only consonants, leaving the vocalisation to be supplied from the context. The system of transliteration here adopted is the outcome of several attempts. It is only by extensive use that it can be ascertained to be such as will answer the purposes for which it was designed: after transliterating several long texts of the later periods, I find it sufficiently satisfactory. To attain any ideal seems impossible. The transliteration cannot be made to represent fully the values of the hieroglyphics from which the demotic groups have sprung; ancient and modern elements are much too intricately combined in the writing to admit of this. Nor, on the other hand, can it be worked out entirely from the Coptic side. Neither is it worth while as yet to aim at representing the pronunciation of the scribes who read and wrote the demotic. All that we can do in transliterating is to mark the most essential phonetic elements recorded by the script. Alphabetic characters are easily dealt with, but for the numerous word-signs, biliterals, and various ligatures the task is difficult. Sometimes it is convenient to keep close to the original hieroglyphic words or values, at others to the Coptic descendants; and often neither the one nor the other enable us as yet to grasp the meaning of the strokes composing a demotic group of which signification, origin, and derivations may yet be well known. It is often impossible to decide whether some of the subsidiary signs in a word are, or are not, phonetic. Is it best and most convenient to transcribe 𐤠 "X" *nwe* or *mw* = (𐤠𐤡𐤣 "see," 𐤠𐤢𐤠 *mne* or *mn*, ("remain," 𐤠𐤣𐤠𐤢)? To vocalise words seems inadvisable: not only would it greatly complicate the printing, but it would also be particularly unsatisfactory on account of the great variations in the different dialects.

The "alphabetic" elements that need be distinguished do not number more than twenty-two (and some even of these perhaps might be thrown together with advantage); but to help the reading those letters which are entirely superfluous, or are lost or much modified in

Coptic, may be italicised: thus $\text{h}r-r-r-f = \text{ⲉⲗⲣⲟϥ}$ "with him," $\text{e-yr-hr-t} = (\text{ⲡ})\text{ⲉⲗⲣⲉ}$ "before thee (fem.)," $\text{pr} = \text{ⲡⲓ}$ "house," $\text{pr} = \text{ⲡⲓ}$, ⲡⲓ . In the case of word-signs and biliterals which anciently had an alif  in the second or third place, the latter is generally quite lost, or else it appears in a modified form as ⲙ y, following the character. The ancient b' must therefore be transcribed as b, w' as w, etc. I have perhaps made no absolute rule for this in transliterating, but have done what seems most convenient.

The Alphabet.

' = ⲟ (, alif). Ancient *alif* is generally lost or changed to y, except at the beginning of words. In late texts (e.g., II. S.), non-initial ⲟ and ⲟ often represent a vowel.

e = ⲙ () e, ⲉ . It saves much trouble not to transliterate this yw. In I S. it stands often for final e (B. i). ⲙ may represent ⲟ following final ⲙⲙⲙ , but I have always transcribed it e.

y = ⲓ . ⲓ or ⲓ () at the beginning of words only. This is either (a) y, Coptic e*ⲓ*, ⲓ , or (b) y, Coptic lost, frequently represented by e, ⲉ .

2. ⲙⲙⲙ ()?, rare at the beginning of words, generally consonantal; but it may be used for vocalic ⲓ where needed to distinguish one word from another allied word without ⲓ , e.g., $\text{sh} = \text{B. } \text{ⲡⲓⲡⲓ}$, but $\text{sh} = \text{B. } \text{ⲡⲓⲡⲓ}$: also, especially in late texts for final ⲓ (S. e).

' = ⲁ , ⲁ (, 'aiyin). The ancient value being lost, this often in II S. only marks an ⲟ or other vowel.

w = ⲓ (ⲟ), ⲓ () (ⲟ), the former used in the body, the latter at the beginning of words. ⲟ , very rarely vocalic.

b = ⲙ (ⲓ), ⲓ (ⲓ), ⲓ (ⲓ), ⲓ (ⲓ), ⲓ (ⲓ).

p = ⲓ (ⲓ) ⲓ .

f = ⲓ (ⲓ) ⲓ .

m = ⲓ (ⲓ), ⲓ (ⲓ) ⲓ .

n = ⲓ (ⲓ), ⲓ (ⲓ) ⲓ .

r =  () , / = ( ?) p.

l =  () λ.

h =  () ɛ.

h =  () , ɜ ( or  ?) ɛ.

h =  () ɛ, ɜ (I S. = , ɜ in II. S. sometimes ) , ɛ () ɛ (in II S. sometimes ) . ɛ () ɛ. Achmimic ɛ covers the whole series. Italicised h generally means ɛ.

s =  () , ɜ and ɜ () c.

š = ɜ () , ɜ () ɛ.

k =  () K, ɜ ( is marked k).

q = ɜ () K, in II S. also ɜ () .

g = ɜ () S. ɜ = B. ɜ. (In some late texts ɜ is generally used for this.)

t = ɜ, ɜ (, ) , ɜ () ɜ.

θ = ɜ () ? S. ɜ = B. ɜ (rare).

z = ɜ (, ) ɜ.



NOTES ON MYTHOLOGY.

EILEITHYIA IN EGYPT. THE GOD OF BUSIRIS. HERMES
TRISMEGISTUS.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

Eileithyia in Egypt.—I wish to draw attention in the following notes to some curious coincidences, on the chance that other students may be led to investigate the subject and bring it into a clearer light. In *Hieroglyphs*, p. 60, I have referred to  the bicornate uterus of animals—the badge of Meskhent, the goddess of birth, and hieroglyph for “cow” and for “womb”—and especially to its use instead of the two feathers  on the head of Anzti. These two feathers seemed to be a substitute for  and I proposed (*l.c.*) to see a connection with it in , the badge of the nome of *Ἐιλεΐθυια* in late texts, as also in the *kef-psš* or *psš-kef* amulet. The Meskhent-badger seems almost certainly on the head of Anzti in the tomb of Ptahhetep, confirming the instance quoted from MAR., *Ab.*, I, p. 78. A facsimile of the injured sign will be published in the forthcoming *Ptahhetep* I. It is also very curious that the only estate name of Ptahhetep in the nome of Anzet (Busiris) bears the name [Ⓜ]  Nekhen, which seems intentionally adopted to correspond to Nekhen (Hieraconpolis) in the nome of  (Eileithyia). On a late coffin, *Hawara*, Pl. II, Nekhebt, like Eileithyia, is said to guard the babe in the mother's womb. The vulture, emblem of Nekhebt, is the sign for “mother” in hieroglyphs, and  a debased form of the Meskhent-symbol, in Ptolemaic writing *m*, probably obtains its value as representing *m.t* “mother,” the “matrix,” being called in the Ebers Papyrus “mother of mankind,” *m.t-rmt* , even in the case of animals, e.g., *Eb.* lxx, 11.

The god of Busiris.—Anzti means the god of the nome Anzet



, just as Zehuti (Thoth) means the god of the nome Zehut



. As Thoth of the nome-capital    , Hermopolis

Magna, is referred to in the one case, so Osiris of the nome-capital



   , Busiris, is referred to in the other, and  (for the forms of

which see *Ptahhetep* I.) is therefore the figure of the anthropo-

morphic Osiris (Anzti) of Dedu, just as  is the figure of the ibis-

god Thoth. Osiris of Dedu seems from his head-dress to be a god

of birth, or of renewed birth, while Osiris of Abydos (who always

follows him in the funerary formulæ) is of death. Such connexion

between birth and death is usual in nature deities, whether solar or

of vegetation. In somewhat later times the figure of this Osiris is

the regular determinative of   "ruling prince," a term applied

only to the living being. This word     is also spelt  ,

which may indicate that the god was sometimes in crocodile form,

or at least connected with crocodiles, and for this the sign of water



 or , with which the name of his district Anzet is usually

determined, is very significant (*cf.* also Osiris Aty in late times in the

Faiyum             , *Hawara*, Pl. II, *Kahun*, Pl. XXV,

often written with           , *Hawara*, Pl. IV, sometimes with  for ,

Hawara, Pl. V, *Mon. Div.*, Pl. 39). "He who is in Anzet" in the

Pyramid texts is entitled "chief of his nomes," *Pyr.* IV., 256 = *N.*

717, and more definitely "Anzeti, head of the Eastern nomes,"



             , *W.* 299 = *T.* 146 = *M.* 199 = *N.* 543.

In this passage he is associated with "Anubis, head of the Western-



ners"              , who has the very same title that Osiris of

Abydos holds. Thus we come to the conclusion that Osiris of Dedu

is the living King and a god of birth or generation, presiding over

the nomes of the east or sunrise, while Osiris of Abydos is the dead

King and King of the Dead, chief of the Westerners in the region

of the sunset.

Hermes Trismegistus.—The ancient name of Hermopolis in

Upper Egypt was $\equiv \equiv \equiv \textcircled{\times}$ *Khemen-nu*, which is to all appearance to be read as the numeral eight with the ordinal ending or suffix, "the Eighth." When therefore it is observed that it is the capital of the XVth out of XXII nomes in Upper Egypt, it is clear that it was counted as the eighth great city or sacred centre reached in Upper Egypt going up the river from Lower Egypt, or perhaps starting from Memphis. The name is of considerable antiquity, occurring on the monuments of the Middle Kingdom, and may be much older than that of Memphis, which originated only in the VIth dynasty. The development of eight elemental gods in connexion with Thoth (MASP., *Origines*, pp. 147 *et seqq.*) seems later, and is not the end of the story, "Hermes Trismegistus" was the ultimate outcome of the name "the Eighth" as I hope to show in the forthcoming "Demotic Stories of the High Priests of Memphis" (Clarendon Press), in a note on *II S.*, V, 7.



THE XXIIND EGYPTIAN DYNASTY.31st October, 1899.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In Dr. Birch's *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, on page 157, is to be found the following statement: "Uasarkan or Osorchon II was equally undistinguished during his long reign. The mention of an eclipse of the moon, which was expected or happened, occurs in an inscription of his successor. This took place on the twenty-fourth of the month Choiak of his fifteenth year." Further, we are informed the inscription is somewhat mutilated, an imperfection which presumably applies rather to the period of the XXIInd dynasty in which the eclipse is stated to have occurred, than to the actual date on which it took place.

The month Choiak having been the fourth month of the Egyptian year, its twenty-fourth day would be the 114th from the commencement. In the year 747 B.C., with which Ptolemy opens his Canon, the Egyptian year began with the 26th February; and in consequence of the Egyptian year invariably containing 365 days only, it would commence a day later in the year 749 B.C., which was bissextile agreeably to the Julian reckoning. Similarly, eight years earlier, or in 757 B.C., the Egyptian year began on the 29th February, and again in the year 829 B.C., or 72 years earlier, on the 18th March. The 18th March being the 1st Thoth, 113 days more brings us to the 9th July, on which day there was an eclipse of the moon in the early morning; the centre of the eclipse having been at about 3 a.m. in the longitude of Cairo, agreeably to our method of computing time.

The XXIInd dynasty has always presented many difficulties in its chronological aspect, and at first sight the identification of this eclipse, if we take it as having occurred in the reign of Shashank II, the successor of Osorkon II, does not assist in the removal of these difficulties.

The following table gives the kings of the XXIInd dynasty, with the length of their reigns, so far as I have been able to ascertain them :—

Shashank I,	21 years.	Birch and Mariette.
Osorkon I,		
Takeleth I,		
Osorkon II,	23 „	Mariette.
Shashank II,	not less than 15 years.	Birch, p. 157.
Takeleth II,	not less than 15 years.	Birch, p. 158.
Shashank III,	14 „	Mariette. Birch says 51, p. 158.
Pamai,	2 „	Mariette.
Shashank IV,	36 „	Birch, p. 159.

According to Scriptural chronology, the commencement of the reign of Shashank is placed not earlier than B.C. 982, or later than B.C. 972, with which dates Mariette's estimate of B.C. 980 is quite consistent, but it appears evident from the above table that the reign of Shashank II was all too soon to be accepted as having commenced in the year B.C. 843. It would seem not impossible that Shashank III was the monarch in whose reign the eclipse occurred, the mutilation of the inscription having left it doubtful which of the two was intended. In this case the XXIInd dynasty would close after the commencement of the eighth century B.C., a result which is in harmony with the estimate that places the epoch of the XXIIIrd dynasty in 766. B.C. This is a matter, however, which I am content to leave for experts to consider.

Yours very truly,

F. E. HASTINGS.



NOTE ON A NEW EGYPTIAN KING OF THE XIII
DYNASTY.

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

When in Upper Egypt last winter, I noticed in the shop of Mohammed Mohassib, the famous antiquity merchant of Luxor, a very remarkable blue-glaze cylinder, giving the protocol of an Egyptian king hitherto unknown, named Âmenemhat-senb-ef. This interesting relic of antiquity I secured for Lord Amherst of Hackney, in whose Collection it is now preserved, and it is by his kind permission that I am able to publish an account of it here.

From inquiries that I made concerning the cylinder, it seems certain that it was found at Mohalla, near Gebelên, in Upper Egypt, from which place several ancient monuments found their way into Luxor dealers' hands during the summer of 1898.

The inscription cut upon the cylinder gives, with the exception of the  title, the entire protocol of the king:—

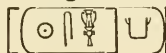


“Horus, filling the heart of the two lands, Lord of the two diadems, seizing his sistrum, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Rā-seshes-ka) son of Rā, of his body (Āmenemhat-senb-ef), giving Life eternally.”

As a private name, Amenemhat-senb-ef occurs occasionally on monuments of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties, but it has not before been found in a cartouche, and no such king as Rā-seshes-ka

is mentioned in any of the lists of kings or on any of the monuments hitherto discovered.*

For the present it is impossible to fix precisely the place of this new king in Egyptian history, but three facts clearly show that he belonged to the group of rulers who reigned over the Lower Nile valley during the first half of the XIIIth dynasty. Firstly, the nomen is compounded with that of the XIIth dynasty monarchs, Âmenemhat-senb-ef, "*Âmenemhat* is his health;" this proves that our new king must date from a period subsequent to, but probably not far from, Âmenemhat IV. Secondly, the prenomen is curious, and may be compared with that of Râ-kha-seshes Neferhetep of the XIIIth dynasty. Thirdly, the colour and quality of the glaze on the cylinder is very similar to that of a broken seal of Sebekhetep I, which I was told was found at Mohalla, together with the Âmenemhat-senb-ef cylinder. I may also add that the cutting of the hieroglyphs and their general form remind me of a seal of Âmeny-Antef-Âmenemhat which I once saw in the shop of the German Consul at Luxor.

* It is possible that any one of the broken cartouches of the Turin list of XIIIth dynasty kings ending in  (*vide* Brugsch and Bouriant, *Le Livre des Rois*, Nos. 168, 177, 217) may be restored , but the query is, which one?



of *Aramaic Inscriptions*, by Rev. S. A. Cook, contains many such compounds, some of which may be identical with some of the above.

The god, or goddess, Sib or Zib, named above and written 𐤱𐤴 𐤶, also occurs in the names 𐤱𐤴 𐤶 𐤠𐤴𐤥, 𐤱𐤴 𐤶 𐤱𐤴 𐤶𐤴 𐤶𐤴, 𐤱𐤴 𐤶 𐤶𐤴 𐤱𐤴 𐤶𐤴; which I read, Sib-ereš, Sib-ilai, and Sib-ibni-anni.

The god Našḥu, 𐤱𐤴𐤶 𐤠𐤴𐤥, or Našuh 𐤱𐤴𐤶 𐤱𐤴𐤶𐤴, appears in quite a number of names, nearly all of which come from the neighbourhood of Harran. The second elements of these compounds are also worthy of note. We have Našḥu-a-a-li, Našḥu-gab-ri, Našḥu-nadin-apal, Našḥu-id-ri, Našḥu-sa-ma-'a-ni, Našḥu-sa-kap, Našḥu-ḫatar (ri), Našuh-li', Našuh-di-im-ri, Našuh-di-li-ni, Našuh-la-ú-a-ni, Našuh-našir.

C. H. W. JOHNS.



NOTE ON AN EGYPTIAN BOLT.

31, LANSDOWNE ROAD,
CLAPHAM ROAD, S.W.,
July 3rd, 1899.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

You asked me some time ago for a drawing of the Egyptian bolt which I have, this I now enclose. The material is acacia wood, and apparently has never been painted; the long and cross sections will explain the method by which it is fixed to the plate on which it slides; the plate was fastened to the door by four pegs. This bolt probably belonged to a cupboard or cabinet, as it is not strong enough for house-work, its length is $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches. I regret that I can give you no information concerning Egyptian locks or bolts, but I think little or nothing is known about them; there is a bolt on a small door in the Gizeh Museum. I believe they are not at all common; the only thing I may point out is, that from the bolt was derived the hieroglyphic sign , and that in the earlier well drawn examples it is shown thus , not as a papyrus; and Prof. Petrie's theory is that the nick in the middle was for sealing the bolt with a piece of string passed over it to a seal above and below.

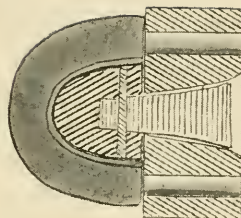
Believe me,

Yours very truly,

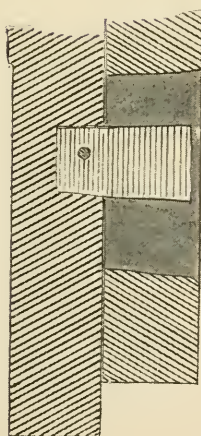
E. TOWRY WHYTE.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 5th December, 1899, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

GENERAL HASTINGS:—Biblical Chronology. The Historical Period. Kings: Judges.



Long Section *Cross Section*



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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XXI. TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

Seventh Meeting, December 5th, 1899.

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PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1899.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY,

37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions and Proceedings still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The Index to this Volume of PROCEEDINGS
(Vol. XXI) will be issued in March next.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION, 1899.

Sixth Meeting, 5th December, 1899.

JOSEPH POLLARD, ESQ., MEMBER OF COUNCIL,

IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman referred to the loss the Society had recently suffered by the death of—

PROFESSOR CH. DE HARLEZ,

One of the Honorary Members, who had for many years taken great interest in its welfare.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Publisher:—Mr. David Nutt. Egyptian Chronology.

An attempt to conciliate the ancient schemes, and to educe a rational system. By F. G. Fleay. 8vo. London. 1899.

[No. CLXIV.]

From F. Legge, Esq. :—Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A. Cuneiform Texts. Edited by H. V. Hilprecht. Volume IX. Fol. Philadelphia. 1898.

———— The Temple of Mut in Asher. By Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay. 8vo. London. 1899.

———— A History of Egypt (Vol. IV) under the Ptolemaic Dynasty. By J. P. Mahaffy. 8vo. London. 1899.

———— A History of Egypt (Vol. V) under Roman Rule. By J. Grafton Milne, M.A.

From the University of Upsala :—J. Johansson. Profeten Hosea, öfversättning och utläggning. 8vo. Upsala. 1899.

———— Sven Herner. Den Mosaiska Tiden. Undersökning hvad somär mosaiskt i dekalogerna och förbundsoken. Folio. Lund. 1899.

The following has been purchased by the Council for the Library :—

The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians. By Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., &c. New edition, revised and corrected by Samuel Birch, LL.D., D.C.L., &c. 3 vols. 8vo. London. 1878.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society :—

George Alexander Pirie, M.A., M.D., 43, Tay Street, Dundee.

Fayette L. Thompson, Pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Jackson, Mich., U.S.A.

Francis Davidson Outram (late Roy. Engineers), A.M.I.C.E., The Manor Lodge, Worcester Park, Surrey.

J. H. Ernest While, The Elms, Maney, Sutton Coldfield.

A Paper by General Hastings was read, entitled, "Biblical Chronology, The Historical Period." Kings: Judges.

Remarks were added by Sir H. H. Howorth, Dr. Gaster, Rev. James Marshall, the Secretary, and Chairman.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted for this communication.

ON THE EARLIEST INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHALDEA.

PART I.

BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A.

The very early inscriptions from Chaldea written in ideographs have been much neglected by English writers. Mr. Houghton a good many years ago wrote a paper in our *Transactions* upon them, but this is now necessarily out of date. Since then Mr. Sayce and Mr. Ball have at different times made brilliant suggestions in regard to individual interpretations, but there has been no systematic essay on the subject. Yet the subject is not a very difficult one. It does not involve a profound knowledge of any language. For the peculiarity of ideographic writing is, that the characters representing ideas, and not primarily words or sounds, can be read off in any language equally well once we know what the ideas represented are. The only race which still uses an ideographic script is the Chinese, and it is often a puzzle to people to be told that a Japanese student can read a Chinese book quite easily without knowing the Chinese language at all. He, in fact, reads the characters off in his own speech by what has been termed the method of pasigraphy, and the puzzle has of course a simple explanation enough. A picture of a horse means a horse to everybody; one person may call it *equus*, another *cheval*, another *pferd*, but the idea is the same to all. Hence the interpretation of ideographic writing is primarily not a linguistic exercise at all, but an exercise in learning the meaning of pictures, in learning what *ideas* are represented by certain *ideographs*, and it is primarily indifferent what sounds we attach to the characters, the really important matter being their mental meaning, the ideas they convey to the mind.

This being so, the interpretation of the earliest inscriptions from Chaldea resolves itself not into an example of reading an unknown *tongue*, but of interpreting a certain number of pictures.

This has been attempted in two ways: First, by guessing in an empirical way from the shapes of the characters at what their meaning really was; and, secondly, by a scientific analysis of them,

such as that recently published by Delitsch, and to which I will presently return.

The former method has been a great deal too popular and too much practised, and has led to a great deal of fantastic writing. The fact is, that it is not possible to represent thought or language by pictorial representations alone. A vast mass of our thought and language are abstract, and we can make no mental pictures of them at all, and consequently if we are to record our thoughts graphically, the characters we use must in a great mass of cases be symbolical, or allusive or suggestive, and carry a vicarious and not a direct meaning. This is very obvious, and has been pressed home very much by Delitsch.

No doubt a certain number of simple ideographs can be made to represent objects more or less directly, generally by a kind of shorthand, in which, to speak figuratively, a leaf represents a tree, or some marked feature of an object represents the whole, but this class of ideographs is a very limited one, and was so limited from the beginning.

Not only so, but these very pictorial ideographs speedily had to do service in an indirect way, and to represent ideas *suggested* by the object originally represented, but in themselves separate and distinct ideas. Thus the same character, according to its context, assumes more than one meaning, and when read off was read off originally as we have to read it off now by a different word. Take for instance the character ✱. This originally meant doubtless what it pictorially represents, namely a star (*mul*), but the character also got the secondary meaning of sky (*an*), and it also represented the idea of God (*dingir*), and became in fact the determinative of God. So again ◇ a suggestion of a primitive circle necessitated by the linear form of the writing, represented the sun, the day, and light. These characters when read off were read therefore as entirely different words according to the particular meaning intended. Hence no doubt arose the embarrassing polyphony of the subsequent writing, when the characters had ceased to be ideographs, and represented sounds phonetically; the same character having several sounds, being, that is to say, polyphonic.

Simple concrete objects can be thus represented partially by directly imitative ideographs, and by allusive or suggestive ideographs. It is only, however, a very limited number of simple thoughts that

can be expressed in this way: the greater part of our ideas and of language consists of ideas too slightly concrete to be thus represented, and the consequence is, that in writing a language ideographically a great number of the ideas have to be represented not by simple, but by compound characters, which have individually lost or ceased to have a directly pictorial character, and when combined are rather symbolical and typical in the original sense of that word. This class of compound characters forms in part a great proportion of the known ideographs. Take rain, for instance; rain is represented by a compound character made up of two others, one of which represents water, and the other sky. Sky + water is not a bad allusive way of suggesting rain, but it will be seen that the character thus compounded is in no sense a picture of rain. Again, take the ideograph for tear: this is represented by the character for water added to that for eye. Thus rain = sky-water, tear = eye-water, etc., etc.; and here I venture to enter a *caveat* against what seems to be an accepted conclusion with some. It has been assumed in some quarters that those who used them, had only these figurative expressions for tear and rain, and not actual names, and used only descriptive epithets and not names for the things in question. We must carefully discriminate therefore between the ideas as represented in the *ideograms* when analysed, and the *names* by which the objects themselves were known. To this we shall have to revert presently.

The thing I want to emphasize at present is, that while an analysis of the compound ideograms will give us a fair notion of their original meaning, it is no clue at all to the word or name by which that meaning was expressed: that clue we can only get from some list of names and words written phonetically; "The Grand Old Man" might very well be the analysis of a complicated ideogram, and would be perfectly intelligible to the reader, but it would not represent the sound or word by which the ideogram was read off by one of his disciples, that word would be *Gladstone*. Manifold errors have occurred from overlooking this fact, and mistaking descriptive phrases for names.

It will be remembered again, that in the Chaldean, as in other systems of ideographic writing, it was early seen that it was convenient to have a method of defining the generic or class meaning of a name, as well as its specific meaning. Thus certain characters, in addition to their initial meaning, became the generic marks by

which a whole class was separated and marked off, and are known as determinatives. Here again there has been some misleading writing with many writers. It is customary to read off these determinatives as if they formed part of the compound names in which they occur, but it is very doubtful whether they were ever read at all. They formed no part of the names of the objects themselves: thus a district or a town was discriminated by the use of the particle *ki*, in such a case meaning *urbs in genere*. Objects made of wood had the particle *gish* attached to them, meaning *lignum in genere*, but we do not say "wooden table," "wooden chair," when we speak of tables and chairs; we take the wooden for granted, and so I have little doubt did those who read off the early ideographs, and it is inconsequent therefore to read *Kish ki*, or *Girsu ki*, or *Gish ban ki*. Again, an early and easy form of representing the plural was by duplicating the ideogram; thus a mountain was represented by three triangles, and mountains in the plural by six. It has been supposed that because *kur* was the name for a mountain in the primitive speech of Babylonia, that *kur kur* was its plural, but this is by no means certain; it is, in fact, very improbable; it seems to me that it is, in fact, mistaking the necessary ideographic for the actual spoken linguistic plural.

In the allied languages of the Mongols and Turks the plural is marked by a regular affix and not by the clumsy process of duplicating the word, and I have no doubt it was the same with the primitive language of Chaldea.

In addition to the plural, this ideographic writing had also an especial method of marking an intensive or superlative, such as the idea answering to great or many or extensive. What the Germans call a *potenz*, and which the old Assyrians described as *gu-nu*; thus a giant or a great "swell," to use a boy's phrase, would be marked by some character, for man, intensified with what is called a *gunu* sign. A concrete case will illustrate what I mean. One of the characters for "man" is a secondary meaning of a sign originally a phallus, and which remained virtually unaltered in Assyrian. It takes the form of , , or . In order to intensify this a very common *gunu* sign is continually used, which consists in adding three or four parallel lines to the original ideogram, such as  or , in either case meaning a "great man." If it is intended to represent a still greater man, a second *gunu* sign is added, thus



. Characters answering to these three stages are to be found in the inscriptions. Two of them are common enough.

This is not the only *gunu* sign, but it is the most usual one, and will suffice as an example.

Again, certain characters are conjunctive merely and unite other characters, not being themselves pronounced. Thus, as I have just said, the phallic character for man is  or , the corresponding character for woman is . When the idea of marriage or union is to be expressed, these two are united by a conjunctive oblong character, thus .

Again, we must remember, what is really a most elementary fact, namely, that these inscriptions which are arranged in parallel columns, in which the separate ideas are sometimes inclosed in special and particular cases or oblong compartments, were always read from top to bottom of each column, while the columns were read off successively from right to left, and that as generally printed we must take the inscriptions and set them on end if we are to see the characters as they were originally written.

In this respect, as in almost every other, the ideograms of Chaldea are precisely similar to those of China, which are still in use, and which are an excellent guide not only to their proper method of interpretation, but, as M. Terrien de la Couperie and Mr. Ball have shown, to more profound and far-reaching conclusions. Whether experience will confirm or not the results of the minuter and more detailed comparison of the civilization and culture of Chaldea and of early China may be doubtful, but there cannot be a doubt, if the doctrine of probabilities has any value, that the script of the two countries was connected together. It agrees in every detail. Both are read in columns from top to bottom. In both cases the columns are read from right to left. In both the ideograms are composed of simple and compound ideograms, made up of lines or wedges, of which the former are often pictorial. In both we have the use of determinatives, etc., etc.

Let us however revert: The true and scientific key to the interpretation of the early Chaldean ideograms is to be found in the fact that they were presently adopted and slightly changed and generalized by a race, the Babylonian, speaking a different language, and which adopted them in a great measure not as ideograms at all,

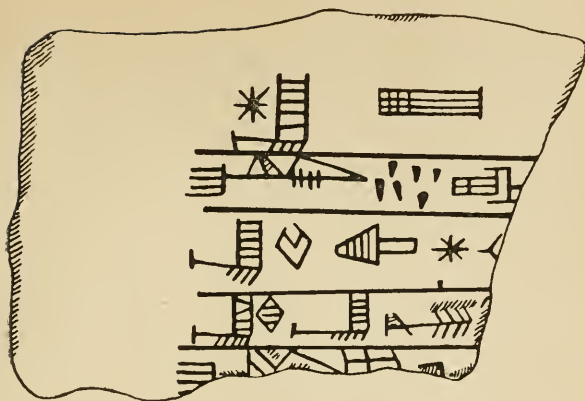
but as syllabic characters. They took over the characters with the sounds to which they had in fact become attached. They were taken over in fact phonetically. In a great number of cases we are able to find the early Babylonian equivalents of the Chaldean ideographs, and they are so little changed that there is no difficulty in the identification. Inasmuch as we know the phonetic value of many of the characters as used by the Babylonians, and in this way know their meaning, the key is in such cases very obvious and verifiable. In this way we are daily adding to our knowledge of these characters, and no one has used this inductive method more satisfactorily than Delitsch. I am under great obligations to him. I do not, of course, mean that when taken over, the Babylonians always took over the early ideograms and used them phonetically; Babylonian writing to the very latest times contains numbers of real ideograms. What I mean is that they did so in a great number of cases.

Lastly, I would remark that inasmuch as the early inscriptions are rectilinear, that is, the ideographs are composed of straight lines only, we must remember in examining those among them which are pictorial, that the rounded or curved outlines of certain objects have to be represented by a convention, in which straight lines have to take the place of curves.

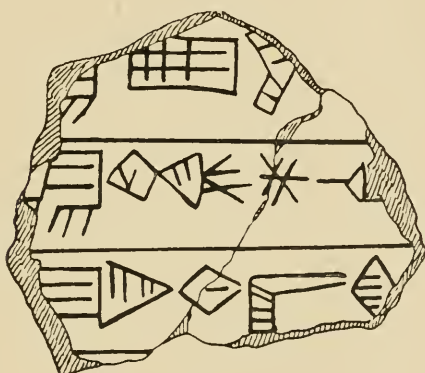
With these preliminary and elementary, but not altogether unnecessary remarks, I would now turn to the characters themselves, and I think it better (instead of following Delitsch's plan, which is excellent for the purpose he had in view) not to give a logically complete analysis of the characters, but to plunge in *medias res* and proceed with the analysis of certain inscriptions, and for this purpose to turn to the very earliest inscriptions available, namely, some of those found by the American exploring expedition at Nippur.

These occur for the most part upon broken pieces of calcite vases, and when complete almost if not quite invariably begin and end with two phrases respectively common to them all, which we can hardly doubt, from the corresponding phrases upon objects of a somewhat later date, in which the inscriptions are written phonetically and in Semitic, are in fact phrases of dedication. This *a priori* view has been amply confirmed in many ways.

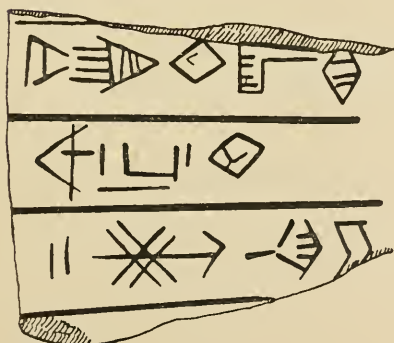
The first line of these very early inscriptions nearly always contains the name of the god, and in many cases it is a god whose name is represented by the three characters ✱  .



90.



91.



92.

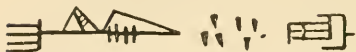
The first of these, as we have seen, was the determinative of God, which in Shumerian was written *dingir*, but, as I have said, it was probably not pronounced when reading the name, but simply used as a determinative.

The meaning of the second character has long ago been known. We owe its complete analysis to Delitsch, who, as we have seen, has shown that it is merely the ideogram for man with two *gunu* or intensive marks attached to it, and when analyzed reads *lu + gal + gal*. *Gal* is the intensive, and *lugal* may possibly be the original sound of the ideogram, but this is doubtful. Inasmuch as another special ideogram was invented for the same idea, this one, we have reason to believe, may have been read *En*, also meaning a great man, or Lord, answering to the Assyrian *Enu* or *belu*.

The third character presents us with a difficulty: it is the ordinary ideogram for a house, *É*, and I cannot find any other pictorial meaning for it. Since one of the appellations by which the god of Nippur was known was certainly *En lil*, or the Lord of Ghosts, or as read, doubtless *Il lil*, in accordance with the harmony of consonants, it has been assumed* by almost every Assyriologist that the ideograms in question ought to be read as *En lil* or *In lil*. I have never been able to see how the sound *lil* can be attached to the character in question, and I see that Delitsch, in his recent work, seems equally puzzled. I do not doubt that *En lil* or *In lil*, i.e., Lord of Ghosts, was one of the names of the god in question, as "Lord of the Land" also was one of his appellations: what I maintain is, that the ideogram really shows that "Lord of the House" was also one of his synonyms, or rather appellatives, for we do not really know what his actual name was; until we do so, we may continue, with the above *caveat*, to call him *En lil*. May I venture further, with great deference, to differ in one point from my friend Professor Sayce, and to suggest here that by the "God of Ghosts" it does not follow that his subjects were the dwellers in the Nether world; the ghosts in question were apparently terrestrial ghosts, who walked or floated about the earth, and not subterranean ones. The god in question was a mundane god, and not a god of Hades; he answered to Bel and to Jupiter, and not to the master of the Infernal regions, and it was in the wastes of Idumæa and not beneath them that Lilath had her realm. Let us however move on.

* Since writing this paper, Mr. Pinches has pointed out to me two passages in later inscriptions, where the god is distinctly called *Il-lil*.

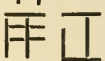
The characters in the second line of our inscription are



The first of these ideograms, it will be seen, is also twice compounded with the intensifying adjective, the so-called *gunu* character *gal*. The rest of the ideogram, as was long ago recognized, represents a puppet, and is a conventional way of drawing a man. The character sometimes occurs with only one of the *gunu* marks; thus in Hilprecht II, No. 87, col. i, ll. 6 and 30, we have , while in No. 86, l. 3, we have .

This character is therefore compounded of *Lu* (man) + *gal* + *gal* = very great man. That it was pronounced *lugal* is possible, but it may be that it was read off by some other word, as its complement before mentioned was, and this may have been *En*.

Turning to the remaining characters, we first have a double set of three triangles. Three triangles, or miniature mountains, were in fact the ideogram for a mountain, read *Kur*; and the duplicated character was the plural of *Kur*. It is not likely, as I have said, that this was *kurkur*, but probably some word like *kurt*, *t* being in Mongolian a very ordinary plural affix.

The remaining ideogram is a compound one, and occurs with variants in which the two elements appear separately as  and  (see Hilprecht, II, p. 39, col. i, l. 37, variant, and , id., p. 41, col. iii, l. 15, variant). Delitsch has discussed these two elements, and differs somewhat in his interpretation from Hilprecht. They both see in the first character an epitome of . Hilprecht sees in it a form of the ideogram for a net, namely, , while

Delitsch, with more probability, explains it as a canal, or a series of canals. The other character they both explain as a derived meaning, and as representing the process of filling. Thus the two characters make up the compound meaning of "irrigation;" and, as Oppert and Amiaud long ago suggested, probably represent fertile or cultivated land as contrasted with wild and mountainous country. In Shumerian such a cultivated plain was called *bar ra*, and was apparently sometimes shortened into *ra*.

The whole line of characters, when thus analyzed, reads "Great

Lord, or King of mountains and cultivated lands," *i.e.*, of "the land" as a whole.

Let us now turn to the next line of our inscription, l. No. 3. This reads :



The first of these characters we have already analyzed. It represents the idea Great Lord, and is conventionally read *En*. The second one has been long ago explained, from its Old Babylonian form, as meaning the heart (Shumerian *Shag*, Assyrian *libbu*) ; and I prefer the old analysis of it, namely, that it represents something in the midst of the body, to Delitsch's newer explanation, making it an early picture of the heart itself (*op. cit.*, 189-190).

The third character has been read *Sag* by Hilprecht. Delitsch, who discusses it, shows, from a number of examples, how nearly it approaches that representing *Ka*, the mouth (183). In a variant, pl. 43, fig. 91, it is represented thus , and it is there united to the previous character.

This seems to me to make it plain that the two characters, this and the preceding one, are not to be vocalized separately, and treated as representing separate syllables, as Hilprecht and Delitsch have treated them, but as a compound ideogram, whose pronunciation we do not at present know, and which I would represent by *x*.

The next character doubtless represents here either the syllable *mul*, a star, or "*an*," heaven. Hilprecht reads it in the latter way, and he is probably right.

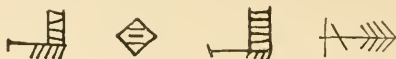
The last character, which occurs more perfectly on fragment 91, is a well known ideogram representing the word *na*, meaning a stone (Delitsch, 124). I shall have more to say of this particle presently.

The use of this particle seems to show that the God of heaven, or heaven itself, was known as *An*, the Assyrian *Ann*, and not as *Anna*, to the Shumerians. If the God had been called *Anna*, the particle would be redundant.

The line then reads *En x an na*.

Hilprecht translates the whole ideogram as, "Lord is the king of heaven." Lord is plain enough, and so is heaven, but how the characters he reads *Shag sag* can be translated King, I do not know. It seems to me, further, that the name is phonetically written, and not a mere appellative, as he makes it.

The next line of the inscription is as follows :—



Here the first character and the third are the same, and we have already analyzed it and shown that it represents the idea, “great Lord,” and the sound *En*.

The second character, as has long been known, represents the sound of *Ki* (Delitsch, 174). It means a district or city, and when placed at the end of a name is generally used as a determinative for a district or city.

The third character is a compound one. It has been well analyzed by Delitzsch , or standing upright  represents a plant in general, *še*, pictorially. The second part of the character, which also occurs as , as  , and as  , was sounded *ni* (Delitsch, 127).

The united ideograms were not sounded *še ni*, however, but were sounded *gi*, meaning a reed (*id.*).

I cannot, however, see how Hilprecht gets the meaning “Land of canals and reeds” out of the three ideograms. *Ki*, the land, and *gi*, reed, are plain enough, but how the character *En* can represent a canal, I do not see. I notice that in the *Expository Times* for 1897, p. 89, Hilprecht divides the name into *Ki* + *e* + *ngi*, which analysis I cannot understand.

This line of the inscription seems to me most interesting, on several grounds. In the first place, if the reading *Ki en gi* is established, and few things seem more certain, it amply confirms the reading of the second character as *En*. In the next place, it seems to show that phonetic writing goes back to what at present is the very beginning of history, in Babylonia, for the three ideograms which form the name occur here clearly not as ideograms, but as syllables, and were probably read off as *Kiengi*, the whole line reading, “Lord of Ki-en-gi.”

The last line preserved on fragment 90 is unfortunately mutilated. The first character was clearly *lu gal* (*i.e.*, king), in the same form as it occurs in l. 2, already described. Of the second character only fragments remain, which are too uncertain to be read. The whole inscription, when thus analyzed, reads :—

“[To] the God En lil, the king of the Land, En x an na, Lord of Ki-en-gi, king of .x.”

It no doubt concluded, as all the other similar inscriptions conclude, with a dedicatory phrase.

Let us now turn to fragment 91 in Hilprecht's work. The first line of this fragment is mutilated, but enough remains of the characters to enable us to reconstruct it as it was originally, namely :—

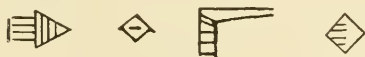


It is an exact *replica* of l. 6 in fragment No. 110 in Hilprecht's second volume, except that the last character there stands upright, thus , which is clearly only a variation.

This character, which is read *la* (see Delitsch, 151), apparently marks the dative, and answers to the preposition *to*. The three earlier characters correspond to those forming the first line in the previous inscription already analyzed. The whole line therefore reads: *En lil la*, or *En e la*.

It is curious and unusual that the next line should not embody one of the many titles or appellatives of the god; but in it we are at once presented with four out of five characters like those in l. 3 of fragment 90, and which represent the same king's name, *En x an*, the last character, *na*, being partly broken off.

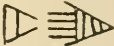
The third line reads :—



The last character in this line, as we have seen, is the determinative of town or district, *ki*.

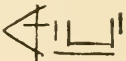
The second and third characters occur elsewhere united, thus forming a word or name (see Hilprecht inscription 87, col. i, line 23; compare also col. ii, l. 6 to l. 10; see also Delitsch, 146 and 147); and no doubt, as the determinative shows, they define some town or district.

The conjoint characters have been discussed by Delitsch (*op. cit.*, 146 and 147), who says they must be read as *kišshatu*, meaning powerful, mighty. They are accepted by Hilprecht and Thureau Dangian as representing the place-name of *Kish*; and I see no reason to question the reading. It is supported by a fragment in the British Museum, where the primitive ideograms are explained in Assyrian (see *T.S.B.A.*, VI, 454, col. i, n. 6), which Mr. King has verified for me.

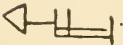
The first character is mutilated in fragment 91, but it occurs in a perfect form in 92, the inscription on which was originally a *replica* of, and partially overlapped with 91. There it occurs as . This is clearly a compound ideogram.

Hilprecht reads the two characters as *Nig-ga*, and translates them "booty," in which he is supported by Winckler; but I would venture to suggest that the latter character seems to represent the word *bur*, with the intensive or *gunu* attached, as it is analyzed by Delitsch on pp. 72 and 73, with the meaning, *inter alia*, of a vessel or cup, which would exactly suit the nature of the offering in question. It seems more consonant with early forms of thought that the object should be specifically mentioned by a concrete term, than that an abstract word like booty or plunder should be used. This is only a conjecture, however.

If this last be the right reading, the whole line would read: "To the God *En lil*, *En x an na*, this cup (or booty?) from *Kish*" When perfect, the inscription no doubt ended with the dedicating phrase.

A third inscription, namely, 92, also a fragment, overlaps with the last one, and no doubt the fragment of calcite on which it occurs came from a vase with the same inscription. Its first line corresponds with the last line of the previous inscription. Its second line contains two characters. The second is a simple one, and is the one we have already analyzed as meaning "heart," *i.e.*, *shag*. The first one is very complicated, and we have variants of it. In the present inscription it is thus represented , while in fragment 102,

l. 4, it is represented thus , and in fragment 104, l. 4, as

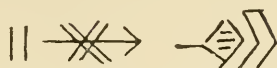
. Hilprecht reads it as *gul*, and translates it as meaning

"evil," the two characters being thus explained as meaning "evil of heart." Winckler queries this meaning. At present it must be accepted as purely tentative and speculative.

All we can positively say is, that it probably conceals some appellative of the town of Kish, or perhaps some term of opprobrium applied to it.

The concluding line is the one which in fact concluded all these

inscriptions when they are perfect, and there can be no doubt that it is the dedicatory phrase. It runs thus :



The characters have been generally read, *a mu na shub*. The penultimate character is frequently absent, and the phrase is apparently complete without it.

The character  we know, from the later Babylonian inscriptions, represents the syllable *na*, with the meaning of stone ; and Delitsch, I think, explains it reasonably as compounded of two characters whose meaning is well known, *i.e.*,  meaning the unit one, and  meaning the earth or a district, and when combined meaning simply a piece of the earth, *i.e.*, a stone (Delitsch, 124-125). The character is doubtless used here phonetically.

Turning to the other characters in this last line, the first one is the well known ideogram for water, with the sound of á.

The second character has given rise to a considerable polemic between Delitsch and Hilprecht, in which I think the former has the best of the argument. Hilprecht identifies the character with an arrow marked with what he considers to be the signs of ownership, namely, the crossed lines, and quotes a similar usage among the North American Indians.

Delitsch, on the other hand, urges that the syllable *mu*, which this character undoubtedly represents, nowhere in Shumerian or Assyrian means an arrow, and that we have a character for arrow which is formed differently, namely, .

Delitsch further proves, I think, that *the character* in question is a compound one, and made up of , sounded *bad*, and meaning to open or an opening (*op. cit.*, 109), and the crossed lines .

The compound character was afterwards condensed into  meaning a road or a way, and derived from the notion of cross roads. The two characters, when combined, would thus mean "opening the way." Delitzsch further suggests tentatively that when thus combined, and with the sound *mu*, the character was equivalent in meaning to "name."

The last character, of which the Old Babylonian form is a close imitation, bore the sound of *shub*.

The collocation of the several ideograms in this line, which, so far as I can see, cannot be compounded into a phrase with a meaning, if we treat them as ideograms, seems to make it pretty clear that the whole line is written phonetically. This is again supported by the irregular occurrence of the particle *na*, as I have mentioned; and it seems probable, therefore, that the characters *a mu na shub*, or shortly, *a mu shub*, were so pronounced, and represent the commanding verb in these inscriptions, which can have no other meaning than *offered* or *dedicated*. I may have more to say about it on another occasion.

The whole inscription on fragment 92 therefore reads “[*x*] this vase from Kish, evil (?) of heart, dedicated or offered”; and reading the two fragments together we get the inscription fairly complete, thus: “To the God *En lil*, *En x an na*, dedicates this vase [or this booty] from Kish, evil (?) of heart.”



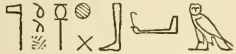
EXTRACTS FROM MY NOTEBOOKS (I).

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

I. THE STORY OF SANEHAT AND THE INSCRIPTION OF AMEN-EMHEB: A CORRECTION. Four years ago when tracing the famous inscription of Amenemheb which records the death of Thothmes III,

I found that Ebers' reading of , in the well-known passage describing the king's ascent to heaven, was evidently not the right one.

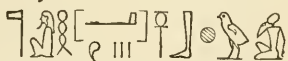
The text runs thus:—*renpet* LIV *âbd* III *pet* *âqy* *kher* *hen* *en* *seten* *bâti* *Râ-men-kheper* *maâ* *kheru* *seher* *ef* *er* *pet* *khnem* *âten*

, "the year 54 the last day of the third month of Pert, under the majesty of the King Ra-men-kheper (Thothmes III) justified. He flew up to heaven and joined the sun's disk, the divine absorbed into its maker." The

signs after  are mutilated, but I concluded from what was left of

the uppermost one that the group should be read  *neter* *hâu*, not

 *neter* *shemsu*. Remembering that there was a parallel passage in the opening lines of the Story of Sanehat, I determined to examine the original of the beginning of that tale in the Museum of Gizeh with the result that my conjecture is clearly correct. The Gizeh

Ostrakon gives in Hieratic characters 

neter *hâu* *abkhu*, etc. The beautiful passage describing the death of the king ought therefore to be read: "He flew up to heaven and joined the sun's disk, the *divine-limbs* were absorbed into their Maker."

2. THE PERSEA-TREE OF ANCIENT EGYPT. In the private tombs of the XVIIIth and later Dynasties at Thebes, a medium-

sized yellow fruit, nearly ovoid in shape and with a 4-divided calyx, is often represented among the offerings piled up on or before

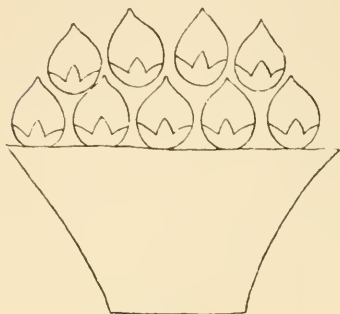


Fig. 1.

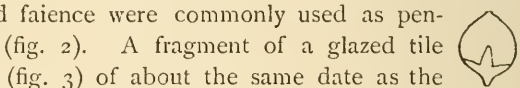
the altars in front of the deceased (fig. 1). In festival scenes of the same period we see the fruit held in the hand by the guests, and sometimes it is held to the nose (in the same way as the lotus flower is so often depicted), as if the guest was enjoying its sweet perfume (see Plate I). The same fruit is very often represented either protruding from a lotus

flower, or surrounded with flowers in the great garlands figured in XVIIIth Dynasty tombs, and in the time of Amenhetep III and Akhenaten little flatish models of the fruit made in glazed faience were commonly used as pendants to necklaces (fig. 2). A fragment of a glazed tile



Fig. 3.

specimens of the fruit of *Mimusops Schimper*, Hochst., or *Kummel*, L. (fig. 4), and in them I at once recognised the little yellow fruit figured in the tombs.



(fig. 3) of about the same date as the same fruit upon a background of leaves. I have often wondered what the fruit could be, but last winter I was fortunate enough to procure at Luxor a number of well preserved ancient



Fig. 4.

No species of *Mimusops* is now found in the Valley of the Lower Nile: six species occur in tropical Africa and two (*M. Kummel* and *Schimperi*) in Abyssinia.* Twigs and leaves of *M. Schimper* have often been found in the tombs of all dates, from the XIIth Dynasty downwards to Græco-Roman times,† and it is probable that the fruits which I procured at Luxor belong to this species. I have not seen any fresh specimens of the fruit, but they are described as

* *Index Kewensis*, Vol. II, p. 246.

† Newberry, in *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 48; cf. also *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 49.

PLATE I.



being bright yellow in colour, very sweet to the taste and, like the flowers, powerfully aromatic.*

Dr. Schweinfurth has already produced evidence to show that the *M. Schimperii* was the Persea of the ancients, and some of the classical writers appear to have confounded it with the Persica or peach. Dioscorides notes that the persea tree was "found in Egypt, that it bore an edible fruit and flourished more particularly in Upper Egypt." Pliny's description (*Hist. Nat.*, XV, 13) is very confused. Strabo (XVII, ii, 2) writes that "the persea grows in Egypt and in Ethiopia: it is a lofty tree and its fruit is large and sweet." Diodorus (I, i) says: "[In Egypt] there are divers sorts of trees, amongst which those called Persica [read persea], whose fruit is of wonderful sweetness: this plant was brought out of Ethiopia† by the Persians when Cambyzes conquered those places. . . . After the falling of the waters they gather the fruits called Bates, which for their sweet and delightful taste are, at entertainments, served up at the last course as delicious fruits."‡ The ancient Egyptian name of the tree has not yet been identified with any certainty. It was introduced into Egypt sometime during the XIIth Dynasty,§ or perhaps even earlier, and it appears to have been still known in the Nile Valley as late as the time of Ibn el Beithar (13th century A.D.).||

3. A STONE VASE OF PTAHMES, HIGH PRIEST AT MEMPHIS UNDER AMENHETEP III. When looking over Mr. W. Nash's interesting collection of Egyptian antiquities a few weeks ago, I

* Richard, *Flora Abyssinica*, Vol. II, pp. 22 and 23; cf. Roxburgh, *Coromandel Plants*, Ps. 14 and 15; Emin Pasha in *Central Africa*, p. 159, etc.

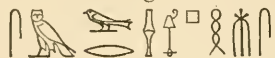
† It is probable that Cambyzes introduced the peach tree into Egypt, but it certainly was not brought from Ethiopia, for the peach, like the apricot, does not thrive in a very hot climate. The native country of the peach is China, and it was introduced into the western world by way of Persia, whence its name (Persica, perce, peach). I have identified many peach stones among the vegetable remains of the Hawara cemetery of Græco-Roman date, and at Beni Hasan I found some stones of perhaps the early Coptic period. Cf. for the history of the peach tree, my paper in Prof. Petrie's *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*.

‡ Compare the group from a feast-scene in Plate I.

§ Kahun, *Gurob and Hawara*, p. 49.

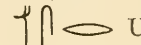
|| The لبخ lebakh of the old Arab herbalists. The tree which bears that name at the present day in Egypt is the *Albezzia Lebbek*, a native of India, introduced about the beginning of the present century, and now very common, especially about Cairo.

noticed a curiously shaped vase (*see* Plate II) in hard crystalline limestone bearing the following inscription :—



sem, *ur kherp hemt Ptah-mes*, “the *sem*-priest, the *ur kherp hemt*-priest Ptah-mes.” The first title is that of the officiating priest at great religious ceremonies, the second that of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis. Several high priests bearing the name Ptah-mes are known, but from the cutting and form of the hieroglyphs, I should be inclined to identify the original owner of Mr. Nash’s vase with Ptahmes, son of Tahutimes, High Priest and Vezîr of Lower Egypt under Amenhetep III. Of this great official we have (1) his statue in grey granite in the Museum of Florence, (2) his stela from Memphis in the same Museum, (3) his fine basalt palette from Sakkara in the Louvre, (4) his cubit-measure, kohl-pot,* kohl stick,* and several small stone pots bearing his name at Leyden. A white stone scarab-seal, bearing the name of this Ptahmes is preserved in the British Museum; it is said to have come from Memphis.

4. A STATUE OF USER, VEZÎR OF UPPER EGYPT UNDER THOTHMES III.—In the Museum of the Louvre there is a statue of a certain , “Governor of the city (*i.e.*, Thebes) and

Vezîr named  User. The figure is represented squatting, the arms are crossed over the knees, the right hand is closed, the left hand open lies flat upon the right knee. The wig and features are finely chiselled, but the whole of the lower part of the statue has been broken off and is missing. It is probably of greyish-black granite, but as the whole surface has been covered with a coating of grey paint, this is impossible to determine. The height of the statue is 3 feet 2 inches. Down the front of the legs is the following inscription giving (1) the *de hetep seten* and (2) the *perert her uz* formulæ for offerings at stated festivals† for the benefit of User’s ka, and (3) User’s address to posterity :—

* I am not sure whether these two objects are in the Leyden Museum : they are figured along with some of the Leyden antiquities in the Hay and Burton MSS. in the British Museum, *Add. MS.*, 25655 ff. 58, 65; and *Add. MS.*, 29848, f. 8.

† The list of festivals given here is fairly full and, with the exception of the last-mentioned but one—the *uah kha* “feast of replenishing the altars”—they all occur in my *Beni Hasan*, I, pp. 53 and 54.

PLATE II.



STONE VASE OF PTAHMES.

In the collection of Walter L. Nash, Esq., F.S.A.

Akhenaten's heresy towards the end of the same dynasty. Fortunately, we can fix it exactly from other monuments known of this vezîr. His tomb at Thebes is dated in the reign of Thothmes III, and a stela in the Gizeh Museum names him as vezîr in the 21st year of Thothmes III. According to an inscription in the tomb of his steward, he died in the 28th year of Thothmes III.*

BABYLONIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

In the numerous and excellent works that have appeared bearing on Assyrian and Babylonian Weights and Measures, I have up to the present failed to find any statement of the size of the most common of all Assyrian land measures, the homer, *imeru*, . My own investigations show that the homer contained 60 *KA*, which was stated by Dr. Peiser, in his admirable *Skizze der Babylonischen Gesellschaft*, if my memory is correct. They also show that the *KA* contained 300 square cubits or *ammatu*. This I imagine was 10 *ŠA-HI-A* or 10 *GAR-ZUN*, and the *GAR-ZUN* was an area of six cubits long and five cubits wide. These views may be ancient and well known, but I should be obliged if any reader of *P.S.B.A.* could furnish a reference to some author who has shown them to be tenable.

At the same time it would be a favour if any one could show what was the size of the *KA* as a measure of capacity. We know that a sheep or a man would eat a *KA* or two of corn a day, but that is not a very definite measure. We may assume that a *KA* of corn was needed to sow a *KA* of land, but that is also a vague quantity to me, even when we see that a *KA* was 300 square cubits.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

December 11, 1899.

* User was an uncle of the great Rekhmara, and a full biography of him will appear in my forthcoming volume, entitled *The Official Life of Rekhmara*.

A SUPPOSED ECLIPSE OF THE MOON UNDER THE XXIIND EGYPTIAN DYNASTY.

It is always unsafe to base an argument upon a statement in a popular handbook, as General Hastings does in his recent communication (*Proceedings*, XXI, 280). He seems also to have misunderstood the passage quoted. When Birch says that an eclipse of the moon is mentioned in an inscription of "his successor," and that it took place in "his fifteenth year," "his" in both cases equals "Osorkon's." It is clear that Birch is not telling us what took place under Shashank II, as that monarch is dealt with in his proper order. Birch's statement, then, (whatever its value) is that an eclipse of the moon took place on the 24th Choiak, in the fifteenth year of Osorkon II.

It may be interesting to recall the opinions that have been at different times expressed in regard to this eclipse. Some of these are collected in Chabas's valuable paper entitled "Une Eclipse sous le règne du père de Tiklat II" ("Mélanges Egyptologiques," 2nd Series, 73). It appears that the date in the inscription has been read as 24th Choiak, 24th Messori, and 25th Messori; and the date of the eclipse according to our reckoning has been given as 4th April, 945 B.C., 1st April, 927 B.C., and 11th March, 841 B.C. The difference of opinion as to the monarch intended has been no less marked; Osorkon II, Shashank II, and Takelet II have all been put forward by different scholars.

But worse remains. The eclipse has been at one time claimed as an eclipse of the moon, and at another as an eclipse of the sun; and Chabas argued with great force that the inscription has no reference to astronomical phenomena of any kind. Even Brugsch, who proclaimed his belief in the eclipse to be quite unaffected by Chabas's criticism, made the somewhat startling change in date from 24th

Choiak in the fifteenth year of Osorkon II to 25th Messori in the fifteenth year of Takelet II. The earlier opinion is that followed by Birch in the passage quoted by General Hastings.

It must be confessed that on the whole the outlook for those who seek to establish Egyptian chronology on an astronomical foundation is not encouraging. Several dates have been claimed as absolutely fixed on astronomical grounds, but I do not think that one has secured acceptance among scholars generally. It can hardly be anticipated that the claim made by Dr. Borchardt (as reported by Mr. Legge in his interesting account of the last Congress of Orientalists, *Proceedings*, XXI, 263, 264) to have fixed the earliest absolute date in history will meet with any better fate.

F. W. READ.

GRAY'S INN,
4th January, 1900.

THE SIGN  (*NUTIR* or *NETER*).

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I see that Dr. Budge in his lately-published book *Egyptian Religion*, again raises the question of this sign, which he considers equivalent to our English word god, connoting, as he thinks, the ideas of self-existence and the power of renewing life. Without going into the latter statement, I should like to say that the use of the axe as a symbol of divinity is supposed by anthropologists to extend to many other nations besides the Egyptian, and to go back to very early times indeed. Thus, the late Adrian de Longpérier published an agate cylinder from Assyria (*Bulletin archéol. de l'At.* 1855, p. 101) showing a priest in Chaldaean garb offering sacrifice to an axe standing upright upon an altar, a monument which may be useful to those who would derive the Egyptian hieroglyphs from Chaldea. But the axe also appears as a symbol, and presumably a symbol of divinity, on the megaliths of Brittany, in the prehistoric remains of

the funereal caves of the Marne (de Mortillet, *Dict. des sciences anthropol.*, p. 564), of Scandinavia (de Cartailhac, *L'âge de pierre*, etc., p. 49), and of America (*Mém. de la Soc. Roy. de Antiquaires du Nord*, 1880, N.S., pp. 173 and 174). The fact that the axe appears on these monuments not as the representation of an object in daily use but for religious or magical purposes, is shown by the fact that it is often found as a pendant and of such materials as gold, lead, and even amber; while that it is often represented with the peculiar fastenings of the earlier flint weapon shows that its symbolic use goes back to the neolithic and perhaps the paleolithic age. It is now, I think, generally accepted that the use of the stone axe precedes that of the flint arrow-head or flint knife; and it thoroughly agrees with the little we know of the workings of the mind of primitive man that this, the first weapon that came into his hands, should have been the first material object to which he offered worship. If this view be accepted, it will follow that the sign  is an ideogram merely, and was probably used as such long before any system of phonetics came into being.

Yours very faithfully,

F. LEGGE.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MODELS OF FISH.

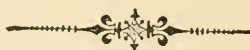
By WALTER L. NASH.

It would be interesting to identify the various kinds of fish of ancient Egypt, which are either depicted on the monuments or represented by models in bronze and other materials. I give photographs of all the models which I possess or which have been lent to me for the purpose. Perhaps those who have models of other fish will be willing to add to the series. For the names of the fish I am indebted to Mr. G. A. Boulenger, F.R.S., of the Natural History Museum. The small steatite dish, fig. 4, and the bronze fish-shaped bottle, fig. 5, were, he thinks, probably intended for the *Tilapia nilotica*, the "*Bolti*" of the Egyptians, but the characteristics

necessary for identification are either wanting, or badly represented. The bronze fish, fig. 6 (for the photograph of which I am indebted to Mr. Lascelles, for whom it was taken by his friend Mr. Gardner),

in the Harrow School Museum. I believe it to be the fish represented by the wood-cut in Sir G. Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians" (Vol. III, page 343, new edition). Sir G. Wilkinson describes it as a *Lepidotus*; and he adds that the *Cyprinus Lepidotus*, which is synonymous with *Barbus bynni*, of the "Description de l'Égypte," was the "Benni" of the Ancient Egyptians. Other examples of the *Barbus bynni* are shown in figs. 3 and 7. The *Lates niloticus* shown in fig. 1, is made of limestone, with the scales coloured. A mummied specimen of the same fish is shown in fig. 2. In the *Proceedings* of February, Mr. E. Towry Whyte gave an account of his rare specimen of a bronze model of a Lates fish, made in the form of a case, in which were enclosed the remains of the mummied fish itself. It would be interesting to know how the fish was introduced into the case, the opening in the lower edge being so small. Mr. Whyte does not say if there is any sign of the case having been made in two parts, and afterwards soldered together.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 9th January, 1900, at 4.30 p.m., when the usual business will be transacted.





W.L.N.

Fig. 1. *Lates niloticus*. Limestone, coloured. Length, 7 in.



W.L.N.

Fig. 2. *Lates niloticus* (mummified).



Fig. 3. *Barbus lynnii*. Bronze. Length, 5½ in.



W.L.N.

Fig. 4. *Tilapia nilotica?* (Bolti.) Toilet-tray. Steatite. Length, 3 in.



W.L.N.

Fig. 5. *Tilapia nilotica?* (Bolti.) Bronze. Height, 6 in.



Fig. 6. *Barbus bynni*. (Harrow School Museum.)
Bronze. Length, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.



Fig. 7. *Barbus bynni*. Bronze. Length, 4 in.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
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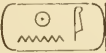
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